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ABSTRACT

This history of the development of the Virginia Community College System, with its 23 community colleges and central office, explores how a broadened base of higher education was accomplished through an evolutionary process and shows that certain people in the state advocated some sort of broadening long before the actual development of the community colleges. After introductory material, part I presents some philosophical and practical underpinnings for broadening the base of higher education in Virgina. Part II focuses on the work of policymakers and researchers that established the need for more post-high school education in Virginia. Part III traces the development of Virginia's system of technical colleges. Part IV highlights the work of legislators and other policymakers in laying the foundation for a statewide system of community colleges. Part V looks at the development of the community college system as part of the movement toward the democratization of post-high school education in the state. After concluding comments in part VI, an overview of the current status of the community college system in 1987 contributed by Don Puyear is presented, focusing on the organization of the system; the role and status of the state board for community colleges, the chancellor, the community college president, and the system office; the original master plan; accreditation; mission; educational program goals; enrollment; tuition; budgeting and resource distribution; foundations and development activities; the role of internal advisory groups in system governance; the Virginia Community Colleges Association; and matters receiving special consideration in 1987. (EJV)

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Pursuing the American Dream

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A History of the Development of the Virginia Community College System

Pursuing the American Dream

A History of the

Development of the Virginia Community College System

by George B. Vaughan

with a Foreword
by Johnas F. Hockaday

and An Overview of the System in 1987
by Don Puyear

© Virginia Community College System, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1987

AUTHOR'S NOTE

A major portion of this work was first published under the title, *Some Philosophical and Practical Concepts for Broadening the Base of Higher Education in Virginia,* ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, Graduate School of Education and the University Library, University of California, Los Angeles 90024: Topical Paper Number 19, March 1971. The 1971 volume has been edited slightly and has been augmented by new material. This new material includes a Foreword by Dr. Johnas F. (Jeff) Hockaday, Chancellor of the Virginia Community College System since 1983, the author's Preface, and an Overview of the System in 1987 by Don Puyear.

Governors Mills E. Godwin, Jr. (front) and Albertis S. Harrison, Jr., played key roles in establishing the Virginia Community College System.

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FOREWORD

It is essential that a history of the Virginia Community College System be written and kept updated. As time weakens memories and lessens the ranks of the early leaders, there is a great danger that the history of the Virginia Community College System could be lost or misshaped. To remedy that problem, this history is updated.

There is forever the chance that those of us who hold leadership positions today will become careless for a moment and forget the legacy that has been handed to us. As history directs the mightiest of agencies, it directs the Virginia Community College System. An understanding of that history gives a perception of the future. To allow for guidance from the past, this history is updated.

Those who will come after us will prepare themselves for leadership through study and work, but through study they will achieve the greatest understanding of this System. It is appropriate, then, that an accurate document be available to them. To allow for preparation for leadership through study, this history is updated.

It is easy for people to give allegiance to contemporary leadership and to forget or ignore those who had the forethought and energy to organize and place in operation a great system of community colleges. I refer to the founders, the pioneers, the risk takers. In order that these early leaders be remembered, this history is updated.

We shall, in our lifetime, work to insure that the Virginia Community College System remains close to the people; that it responds to the needs of those who strive for a liberal arts education; that it prepares well those who yearn for skills for the marketplace; that it stands ever ready to serve those who need special assistance in developmental or remedial studies; and that it serves our people well in the area of cultural and avocational needs. To do that, we need to keep the past in mind. This history is updated to help us in that endeavor.

The passage of time has given us a clearer understanding of what community colleges really are, what they set out to accomplish, and what they actually accomplished. Time has convinced many of us that the community college goal of giving people a chance to gain in knowledge to the limit of their abilities is a worthy goal. The spreading of this goal to many senior institutions in higher education supports its worthiness. To insure that this goal of access be understood, this history is updated.

George Vaughan and Don Puyear have done a great service to generations of the past and future and to the Virginia Community College

System. Their efforts will go far in preserving the rich traditions of the past and in motivating us onward toward the future. I commend them for their efforts and I commend their work to you. Whether you read for study or for interest, you will be pleased with the efforts of these two fine writers.

Jeff Hockaday
Richmond, Virginia
May, 1987

PREFACE

This preface is not an attempt to rewrite my history of the development of the Virginia Community College System (VCCS). Rather, the purpose is to place Virginia's community colleges into the perspective of today's times and to make some additional observations beyond those made in the earlier study. Also, writing this preface provided me with an opportunity to interview the former governor and political architect of the VCCS, Mills E. Godwin, Jr. The failure to interview Governor Godwin at the time the history was written is a weakness of the history, although he is quoted and referred to often throughout the study.

When the decision was made to reissue the history of the development of Virginia's community colleges, I had mixed emotions about doing a preface. What was published as the history of the development of the VCCS had originally served as my doctoral dissertation, and as everyone who has ever written a dissertation freely admits, most of us have had enough of the subject once the degree is awarded. But the opportunity to reexamine research that I conducted almost 20 years ago was too tempting to pass up, especially for someone who has worked in four Virginia community colleges, two as academic dean and two as president. In addition, I found it helpful to refresh my memory of what happened during those formative years, mine as well as the system's. What follows, then, is a combination of scholarship, personal observation, and deep appreciation for the 23 community colleges and the central office that make up the Virginia Community College System.

In retrospect, I feel that the original history has stood the test of time rather well. While the comprehensive history of the VCCS is yet to be written, the system has come under close scrutiny by scholars, politicians, and the public in general, without any great revelations about the early years that escaped my analysis. Moreover, as an active participant in the drama of the development of the system, I have continued to observe the scene (not always with the dispassion of the scholar) and have found little I would change in the original history, although there are certain areas I would examine in more depth were I doing the history today. The point is that my original history is still a useful, and I believe valid, piece of work and should serve as a starting point for anyone who writes the comprehensive history of the VCCS, or for anyone who is interested in learning more about the development of Virginia's community colleges.

Departing from the Virginia scene for a moment, one notes that much has happened to the nation's community colleges since the creation of the Virginia system. Any time community colleges are discussed, a topic sure to surface is growth, for as a nation we are fascinated with numbers, especially

large numbers. And indeed the nation's community colleges have grown dramatically. For example, in 1955 approximately 750,000 students were enrolled in credit courses in the nation's two-year colleges; slightly over three decades later the number is almost five million. During the same time period the number of two-year colleges has doubled. Most of the growth has been in public community colleges, for 87% of the nation's two-year colleges are public. Moreover, the percentage of two-year college students enrolled in public institutions is approximately 97%. In 1985, over one-half of all first-time freshmen attending college in the United States attended a community college.

Numbers do not tell the full story of the changes that have occurred in the nation's community colleges. Today, more than 50% of community college students are women. The average age of students attending community colleges is much higher than the 18-22 age group historically associated with college attendance. Most community college students attend college parttime; on some campuses the percentage of parttime students is over 80%. A majority of community college students work full or parttime. Lifelong learning is a term that has not only entered the nation's vocabulary but has become a way of life as more and more Americans find that just as college does not start at age 18 for many Americans it does not end at age 22 for most people today. Millions and millions of Americans have turned to the community college as their avenue to lifelong learning.

Who comes through the community college's "open door" other than traditional college-age students, women who often have been out of school and out of the job market for a number of years, and older adults of every configuration? In 1984, 54% of all Hispanics, 55% of all Native Americans, and 43% of all Asians and blacks who attended college in the United States attended a community college. As can be seen from Don Puyear's excellent overview of the system in 1987, Virginia's community colleges tend to mirror much of what happens in this segment of higher education in the nation.

In many ways, the development of the community colleges in Virginia came at a propitious time in the history of the state and the nation. The G.I. Bill following World War II set the stage for higher education to be viewed as a right rather than a privilege, college for everyone rather than the chosen few. The nation's economy remained good after the war. Indeed, the United States seemed well positioned to be the first (and still the only) nation in the world to commit itself to universal higher education.

The confluence of three events finally made the dream of open access to higher education a reality. First, the baby boomers began enrolling in college in the 1960's. Second, the open society of the more progressive-thinking politicians became a reality during the 1960's as the nation moved to eliminate poverty and its progeny, ignorance. Third, the Higher Education Act of 1965 and its later amendments, especially the 1972 amendments, made it possible for virtually everyone who could establish a need for

financial assistance to receive such assistance. In Virginia, the General Assembly, under the leadership of Governor Godwin, entered the higher education mainstream of America's movement toward a more open society when it passed legislation creating a system of community colleges in 1966.

The General Assembly also made a decision of long-lasting significance when it determined that Virginia's community colleges were to be largely state funded and coordinated at the state level. The passage of the sales tax in 1966 went a long way toward making state funding economically and politically feasible, for the new tax served as a "safety valve" on the state treasury by simply making more public funds available. As it turned out, state funding and state-level coordination were to be the wave of the future. Today the dominant pattern for community college financing is from state taxes, and most states have a high degree of coordination of community colleges at the state level. As will be seen from the overview of the system in 1987, the state-system approach has served the citizens of Virginia well.

For a number of reasons, I was unable to interview Governor Godwin during my original study. As suggested above, this preface provided me with the opportunity to conduct the long-awaited interview and therefore to close a gap that has haunted me for a number of years. The following is taken from my interview with Governor Godwin on May 26, 1987.

One question I asked was why a group of Virginia politicians, steeped in the philosophy and wedded to the organization of Harry F. Byrd, Sr., would take on as a political and economic issue the development of a comprehensive system of public community colleges. The development of colleges designed to serve people of all ages, all races, and both sexes appeared to be a departure from the norm in a state with a tradition of "pay-as-you-go" and segregated education. Indeed, the open access community college would seem more in line with populist and progressive political philosophies than with the conservative philosophy of Virginia Democrats.

Governor Godwin responded that he did not recall "any of the more resolute Byrd supporters in the General Assembly opposing the bill for philosophical reasons. The opposition from Senators Stone and Ames [the two leading opponents of the development of the community colleges] was from parochial interests and not philosophical." Godwin notes that Harry Byrd, Jr., who had left the General Assembly to succeed his father as United States Senator, expressed no opposition to the system. (Thomas T. Byrd, son of Harry Byrd, Jr., served as chairman of the State Board for Community Colleges from 1980 to 1981.) Indeed, Godwin believes very strongly that the time was right for the development of a system of community colleges. Politicians steeped in the Byrd tradition not only supported the community college idea, but also saw it as politically wise to do so. Godwin observes that "if anybody could read the barometer of how people felt, the Byrd people were pretty good at being able to do that, and I think they realized

that it [the bill creating the community colleges] would pass if we could find the money to finance it."

In the interview I noted to Governor Godwin that there exists a group of social critics who see the community colleges not as promoting equal opportunity for all segments of society but rather as preserving the socioeconomic *status quo* by tracking students into dead-end jobs. That is, the critics see the members of the lower socioeconomic groups, and especially minorities, being funnelled into nonselective community colleges and leaving the more prestigious institutions for the upper socioeconomic groups, primarily white students. I asked Governor Godwin if there was any thought of developing a system of community colleges in order that members of the lower socioeconomic groups, especially blacks, could attend the community college and thus preserve Virginia's elite institutions, such as the College of William and Mary and the University of Virginia, for middle and upper-class whites.

Governor Godwin admitted that he had heard suggestions that there may have been such a conspiracy, but had never heard it put so bluntly. He pointed out that the type of thinking which I attributed to the social critics was alien to how he understood the community college philosophy in 1966 and how he understands it today. His interpretation of the philosophy was and is that the community college was "designed to give more freedom, more opportunity, more chance to make good and be a part of the environment and would bring to Virginians a system of higher education that was really needed." He continues: "I would disagree vehemently with any belief that the community colleges were designed for anyone other than all of the people. I think the community college system has been the greatest godsend that ever came to our more moderate income and low income members of society."

Godwin noted that nothing in the record shows that any attempt has been made in Virginia to track blacks or anyone else into the community colleges. He noted that the academic backgrounds and circumstances of many Virginians would not permit them to enter the more prestigious colleges and universities, and for working adults, for older women wanting to go to college, and for academically weak students it was not a choice between the University of Virginia or a community college but rather a choice between the community college or nothing. He offered his opinion regarding the charge that community colleges preserve the *status quo*. "Let me set the record straight, I think that if there had been any great measure of feeling of the kind in Virginia I would have been bound to know about it. And I have heard very, very little about it." (I should add that during the years I have been associated with the VCCS I have seen no evidence that the state has made any effort to track minority students into the community college. To the contrary, today the academically strong black student is recruited by virtually every university in the state and in the nation. I would maintain that if

our community colleges were not serving a large number of students from the lower socioeconomic groups, including blacks, the colleges would not be accomplishing their mission.)

In my history I point out that there was some opposition to the development of a system of community colleges in Virginia, and I identified the chief sources of opposition. In considering the opposition, one should place a great deal of emphasis on the concept of a system of community colleges, for much of the opposition centered around keeping the branches of the University of Virginia out of the proposed system and not on denying opportunities for higher education to more Virginians. (One should keep in mind that the philosophical base on which the branch colleges rested was the desire to make higher education accessible to more and more citizens at the local level. This fact is often overlooked by the defenders of the VCCS.) When I did the history, I did not clearly depict what a close call there was in getting the community college bill onto the floor of the Senate. The interview with Governor Godwin sheds new light on the subject, for me at least. The following quotations from the interview communicate some of the tensions and drama that existed during the last week of the 1966 session of the General Assembly. The quotations also illustrate Godwin's understanding of politics as the art of the possible.

> I've always thought it was rather fascinating, from a political standpoint, how the birth of the community college system came about. The bill was introduced in both the House and Senate, and as I recall, it moved through the House with very little problem. It got over to the Senate toward the middle of the session, and it stayed bottled up in the committee [Senate Education Committee] because of Senator Stone's opposition. They held the bill captive with the help of Senator Ames, and we had not been able to get it out in the early stages. We put it aside until toward the end of the session, and there were some events that occurred in the last week of the session that helped move it. As I recall, it went something like this. ...
>
> With one week to go in the General Assembly session in 1966, and with the community college bill resting in the Senate Education Committee and knowing of the strength of the opposition there, we were able to muscle the bill out of there, get it to the floor, and get a unanimous vote on it.
>
> I give my chief assistant, Carter Lowance, much of the credit, but not only for the help he gave the community college bill, but so many other things. He talked with me on Monday of the last week of the session and suggested that because it didn't appear that the bill was moving--we had already passed the sales tax and other things in the session and had a great

session behind us--that if we didn't get this done we would be lacking in one of the major things that we were after, and he made the initial suggestion that I call certain college presidents to the office.

And we did call Dr. Shannon [Edgar Shannon, president of the University of Virginia], Dr. Hahn [T. Marshall Hahn, president of Virginia Polytechnic Institute], Dr. Paschall [David Y. Paschall, president of the College of William and Mary], and Dr. Robert B. Smith, who was then president of the Medical College of Virginia, to the office along with several of the key legislators, as I recall, State Senator Lloyd Bird and Delegate French Slaughter, and we had a room full of our people there. They came on Wednesday, after being called on Monday. And we went over the matter thoroughly.

I told them that we felt very keenly about this matter and that I was determined insofar as I could do so not to let the session adjourn without this matter being acted upon and that I thought the legislature, as a whole, wanted it acted upon and that if the bill then in the Senate committee didn't get voted out, the blame would rest on certain individuals and that I didn't see any reason for that to happen or for them to be charged with the bill's defeat. But I let it be known that I would have to let the people of Virginia know why the bill didn't pass. And I reminded the presidents who were there that some of them had been more enthusiastic in their support of the community colleges than others, and that while I could understand their reasons for not offering strong support, the time had come that we had to move.

We had no question but that the Senate, if the matter were brought before it, would pass the legislation. It was simply a question of getting it out of the committee. Of course, discharging a committee under our parliamentary procedure is a rather difficult thing to do in Virginia, although it has been done on occasion, but I warned them that we might attempt to do that before the week was out if we didn't get some help on the bill.

I recall Dr. Hahn made some impassioned comments during the conference supporting the community college program. Dr. Paschall did likewise. Those two spoke out with a degree of real vigor about the matter. Dr. Shannon, while not disagreeing, was less enthusiastic and spent a bit of time explaining some of his own situations that existed. In any event, I told them that we were not averse to any reasonable further amendments to the bill that could be lived with, but that

the plan had to be voted upon. We left in good humor; nobody was angry. But things began to happen that afternoon.

The next day Senators Stone and Ames were called to the office, and we did talk about leaving the Eastern Shore and the Patrick Henry branches out of the program for two years. Well, Senator Stone, who incidentally had been a very good friend personally and politically to me prior to our differences on this, got awfully upset because I wouldn't readily agree to exclude Patrick Henry. I didn't see how I could do that nor how I could exclude Eastern Shore without being disloyal to some other people who wanted some favors that we weren't able to provide; but we did look at it from the standpoint of the two-year period for coming in, and Senator Stone immediately latched onto that with only one provision that he put in--that he be assured that the accreditation would be attached to the programs being offered. And we assured him, as much as we could on that score, and that was the mechanism that was used to get their votes and, of course, they were the only ones who were strong. They went back and voted the bill out unanimously, and it passed the Senate unanimously.

I think there was a minimum of politics after the bill was passed setting up the system. There were very few scars left from the disagreements, however mild or however wild they may have been. I thought it ended pretty well, and I was pleased that it could be approved in the fashion that it was.

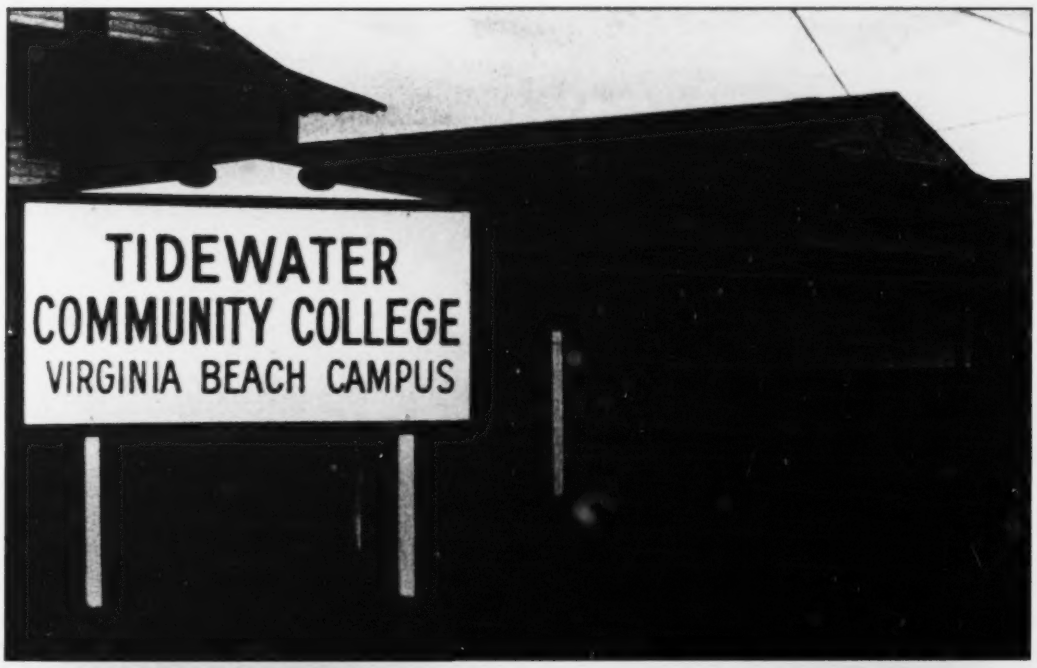
As the saying goes, the rest is history. From that point on, there has been almost no opposition to the establishment and continued support of a statewide network of community colleges in Virginia.

To conclude, Virginia's community colleges have succeeded far beyond the expectations of even their most ardent supporters. Today, practically every Virginian who wishes to pursue higher education may do so. Much credit is due to those legislators led by Governor Godwin who, in 1966, decided that the time was right for opening the doors of higher education to all citizens, regardless of race, creed, sex, station in life, or prior academic accomplishments. Virginia's community colleges are living testimony to the belief that all Americans have the right to participate in the American dream, that all Americans have the right to achieve to the limits of their abilities.

Postscript: Governor Godwin's major concern for the future is that tuition will become so high in the VCCS that many of the students for whom the system was designed will be priced out of the academic market. His hope is

that the citizens of the state will maintain open access to higher education for all Virginians, which means keeping tuition at a level most citizens can afford.

George B. Vaughan
Charlottesville, Virginia
May 29, 1987



INTRODUCTION

to

Some Philosophical and Practical

Concepts for Broadening the Base

of Higher Education in Virginia

A risk engendered by any rapidly moving social development is that those most directly associated with it are so involved with the challenges and demands of the moment that inadequate attention is given to recording what is transpiring. As a result, future students of the development, and even interested contemporaries, are denied an accurate account of what occurred. This is a great danger in the junior college movement. Consequently, it is fortunate when a competent and well-qualified person records the events leading to the creation of a statewide system of publicly supported comprehensive community colleges. That is precisely what George Vaughan has done for Virginia in this report.

The Commonwealth of Virginia, a state generally viewed as steeped in the tradition of elitism in higher education, presents a particularly significant case study in the community college movement. Vaughan's research shows, however, that the philosophical base for the decision to initiate such a comprehensive post-high school system exists in the roots of Virginia's own history.

The plan finally enacted by Virginia contained two noteworthy and laudable features. It provided for comprehensive institutions and for a statewide master plan for the establishment of community colleges. This process, as Vaughan ably demonstrates, was evolutionary. Virginia, as other states have done, traveled the route of university two-year branch campuses and technical colleges. These developments were interspersed with numerous commissions and legislative reports. Vaughan reviews these reports along with the contributions made by influential state legislators, educational leaders, and outside consultants. He effectively demonstrates that, as is so often the case, Virginia's present exemplary plan was made possible in no small measure by committed, forward-looking men who were up to the demands of the moment.

This record of Virginia, in addition to its historical significance, will, we hope, serve as both a model and an inspiration for educators in other states to document the development of their community college plans.

Raymond E. Schultz
Professor of Higher Education
Florida State University
March, 1971

Part I

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL AND PRACTICAL CONCEPTS FOR BROADENING THE BASE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

In 1966, the Virginia General Assembly passed legislation calling for the establishment of a statewide system of public community colleges. This movement toward the democratization of higher education was late in coming to a state that could point to The College of William and Mary as the second-oldest institution of higher education in America, and which could claim as its native son, Thomas Jefferson, one of the most important leaders in the fight for public education in America.

This broader base of higher education was especially slow in coming when one considers that in 1964 Virginia enrolled only 25.2 percent of its entire college-age population (18-21) in higher education. For the same year, the percentages were 32.4 for the South and 43.7 for the nation as a whole (14:18).

In 1960, the median number of school years completed by Virginians twenty-five years old and older was 9.9; the national average was 10.6 years. The years of formal schooling completed ranged from a low of 6.5 in Buchanan County to a high of 12.8 in the city of Arlington. That age group in 86 of the 97 counties and 10 of the 32 independent cities did not reach the state median of 9.9 years (38:18). By 1963 Virginia was a debtor state in higher education; over 10,000 more students went to other states for their higher education than came into the state (64:18).

The Higher Education Study Commission, authorized by the 1964 General Assembly and appointed by the Governor, stated in its 1965 report that "there can be no other conclusion but that Virginia is failing to provide higher education within its borders to the extent that would be justified by the relation of the State's population and economic resources to the national totals" (64:4). Even if the percentage of college-age youths did not increase in proportion to the total population, and if the percentage of them going on to college did not rise, Virginia was facing the 1960s with a program of higher education that would keep its population well below the national average in years of schooling completed. But the percentage of college-age youth was estimated to increase 75 percent from 1960 to 1985 (65:ix), and the increase in the percentage going to college was projected as 4.2 percent from 1964 to 1970 (14:18).

The legislators who met in 1966 had had an opportunity to read the findings of the 1965 Study Commission; therefore, they logically concluded that something must be done to improve the educational level of the state. Their proposed remedy was to establish a statewide system of comprehensive community colleges (32b:1136-1141).

In 1965, the comprehensive community college could be thought of as a democratic two-year college in that it offered equal access to higher education to most of its citizens. It was comprehensive in that it offered a variety of courses in addition to the university-parallel ones; it was community-oriented in that its programs were designed to serve its own area; and its philosophy encompassed the belief that, as education is a lifelong process, educational opportunities should be provided for both adults and youth (8:94-95). *

The Virginia State Board for Community Colleges ** accepted the above broad concept of the comprehensive community college. In its policy manual, adopted September 28, 1966, only a few months after the General Assembly enacted the law creating the community colleges, the board defined a community college as

> . . . an institution of higher education offering programs of instruction generally extending not more than two years beyond the high school level, which shall include, but not be limited to, courses in occupational and technical fields, the liberal arts and sciences, general education, continuing adult education, pre-college and pre-technical preparatory programs, and specialized services to help meet the cultural and educational needs of the region (57:1).

Certainly many Virginians before 1966 realized that the state was not adequately preparing enough of its citizens for their roles in twentieth-century America. That they believed that the base should be broadened to include more students and more programs does not indicate that they wanted anything as comprehensive as the present-day community college system. It does mean, however, that certain key people -- key in that they could make their views known -- rejected the *status quo* and advocated change.

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* While this book was written before 1965, it sums up the general concepts of a comprehensive community college and thus serves as a point of departure for an examination of what the Virginia State Board saw as a comprehensive community college.

** This board was created by the Virginia General Assembly in 1966.

There were both practical and philosophical reasons for this broadened higher education in Virginia. All the views presented in the following pages, while not necessarily incorporated in the present-day community college philosophy, held to the belief that the opportunities for post-high school education offered the youth of Virginia were too limited.

As early as 1909, J. D. Eggleston, Jr., the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, stated that the "great work to be done in this State is not merely to put children to school, but to put all the people to school -- that is, to put all the people, young and old, to studying how to improve themselves and their occupations, and how to improve community conditions through proper cooperation" (72:1). In the same address, Eggleston suggested that "the school must reach out and strengthen the social and economic (in other words, the everyday) life of the community in which it is situated. To do this work properly, it must touch intelligently, sympathetically, constantly, and consciously every social and economic interest that concerns the community" (72:3).

In 1925, a paper by Robert B. Tunstall, "The Duty of the State to Higher Education," emphasized the service function of American higher education. The author stated that "the vastly increased complexities of modern life have immeasurably heightened the intellectual requirements of citizenship" (74:3). The desired traits of American citizenship could be produced only through higher education, which "is bounded only by the legitimate occupations and aspirations of man, and must keep pace with the progress of knowledge, whithersoever it may lead" (74:4).

In 1925, Edwin A. Alderman, then president of the University of Virginia, affirmed that the state had a responsibility to educate the people. In fact, Alderman declared that this responsibility was the prime responsibility of a democratic state. He suggested that all levels of education complemented each other and that "the distinction men draw between primary, secondary, and higher education is not an essential distinction, but one of convenience" (70:1). Alderman contended that higher education must have more support from the state if it were to function properly in educating Virginia's youth (70:1-5).

Alderman's statement concerning the unnecessary distinctions associated with the different levels of education had and still has important implications for any system of post-high school education that would pretend to democratize education to the extent of offering a program which would utilize the talents of a great number of citizens. These barriers would have to fall, or at least be redefined, if a system of higher education were to include one and two-year occupational programs as well as the more traditional liberal arts offerings of Virginia colleges in the twentieth century.

In a 1939 study, the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia, while concerned with offering a more diverse program in a "comprehensive high

school," noted that an educational program offering such things as industrial education, homemaking, business education, health, recreation, art, and music (in addition to the usual program of academic studies) could contribute greatly to raising the cultural and living standards of a community (68:27-28). He suggested that each community be surveyed to see "how the school can best serve the community" (68:44).

In 1950, Paul Farrier, the dean of admissions at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, presented a paper asking, "Can Top-Quartile Virginia High School Graduates Afford to Go to College?" His own answer was that many of them indeed could not afford the cost of a college education. He concluded that their failure to go to college was a great waste of human resources and that something must be done. He stated that "somewhere between thirty and forty-two percent of our high school graduates in the upper fourth of their class would like to go to college but do not do so for lack of money" (40:6). Farrier suggested that more students attend college from urban centers than from rural areas because it is possible for urban students to attend college *while living at home* (40:4). The need for more higher education could be met in part through junior colleges within commuting distance (40:5).

Certainly a statewide system of publicly financed community colleges would open the door for a number of the top students who could not otherwise further their education. In fact, if tuition were kept low and the curriculum broad, at least two reasons for not going to college would be alleviated and Virginia could expect to see more of its top high school graduates continue their education.

The conclusion reached by all the above studies was, simply stated, that Virginia was not serving its youth as it could and should. The resultant loss was what occurs from the failure of a society to utilize the talents of its youth. Virginia was depriving many of its youth of the opportunity for higher education and the actions of the state tended to support the conclusion that "throughout the education history of Virginia there has run the theory that higher education is not a necessity but a luxury, to be sustained, as we buy objects of art for our homes, from the casual surplus that may remain after making provisions for other things deemed essential" (74:7).

The Virginians referred to above were educators or laymen interested in education. They could support their suggestions through documentation, but they could not act to any great extent. For higher education to find the support it ultimately needed, action would have to come from the political segment of society, but were the political leaders in Virginia interested in higher education? Or were they willing to accept the *status quo* and the belief that education was a luxury and not a necessity? Evidence suggests that many political leaders were indeed interested in the status of education in Virginia throughout much of the twentieth century.

In 1928, the results of a study authorized by the General Assembly were published. The study, headed by M. V. O'Shea of the University of Wisconsin, concluded that the question on the cost of higher education was not whether the state could afford it, but, rather, whether state policy encouraged spending money on higher education (60:220). According to the report, some citizens believed that the state had no obligation to provide free education. Others felt that a youth "has a right to demand. . .an education which will enable him to develop his talents in the service of the State" (60:233).

The O'Shea commission recognized that some students needed something other than the traditional liberal arts, a curriculum that, in their case, would waste the taxpayers' money and the time of the institution and would damage, rather than help, those not prepared for a liberal education. These students, the report suggested, should have vocational education (60:235). It further stated that those who were graduated from institutions of higher education were being drained from the state because they were being trained for "culture and professional occupations" and not for the jobs available (60:236).

The commission did not recommend a broadening of the base of higher education. (Vocational education, if developed as recommended, would not have been higher educatic n (60:250)). The commission did touch on a philosophical concept that was to play a major role in the development of a statewide system of publicly supported community colleges. The study concluded that, although the information published in the report had been debated vigorously, there was "one thing [on which] all agree. The determination of what policy shall be pursued is a matter for the State to decide, and not for the educational institutions" (60:220). This decision made it possible to begin developing a statewide system of publicly supported community colleges.

In 1936, the results of a state-supported study headed by economist William H. Stauffer were published. The study concerned almost entirely the financing of higher education and how it could be made more efficient (52). Stauffer was still being heard as late as 1950, when an editorial in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* by Virginius Dabney, one of Virginia's best-known editors, endorsed his views and called on the localities to do more in health, education, and welfare, and to ask the state for less financial aid (27a). Certainly this attitude did not encourage a broader base for higher education if it was to be paid for by the state. In fact, in 1966 many sections of the state were too poor to provide enough money to develop anything approaching a comprehensive community college in their own areas.

In 1944, the General Assembly adopted a resolution "appointing a commission to make a thorough and complete study of the public school system of Virginia" (66:3). After completing its study, the commission

recommended that vocational education should be available to all who might benefit from it (66:109). It was to be, in part, post-high school in nature, but would not lead to a college degree. The system was to be statewide, a plan the commission believed most citizens of the state would support (66:24). Thus, although the 1944 commission went on record as favoring broader post-high school education in Virginia, no enabling legislation was passed to make it possible.

The 1948 session of the General Assembly called for the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to study higher education in the state and to make recommendations on its future. Echoing the findings of the 1947 study on state government, the Assembly wanted to determine the overlapping functions of institutions of higher education (63:1). The report of the Subcommittee on Higher Education of the Governor's Advisory Council on the Virginia Economy felt itself unable to make the study, but did submit guidelines for such a study. The subcommittee believed that among the most important items to be examined were the organization and control of higher education and the possibility of establishing a statewide system of community colleges. These colleges would provide educational opportunities close to home for more students (63:1-2). If established, they would serve students wanting technical and semiprofessional training, those wanting post-high school occupational training, those wanting preparation for professional schools of the first two years of a liberal arts education, those wanting to get some general education before going to work, and adults wanting to continue their education while working full-time (63:4, 10-11).

The subcommittee's report (1950) called for a comprehensive system of post-high school education (similar to the one that finally began in 1966 with the opening of the first community college in the state-wide system). But the 1948 resolution and the subcommittee's 1950 report were calling only for a study and suggesting direction. The study was yet to be done.

The consultant chosen to conduct the study was Fred J. Kelly, Specialist in Higher Education, U.S. Office of Education (51:3). Among his findings was that the state needed "short technical and semiprofessional courses to prepare for the many types of callings which require post-high school training but do not require four-year curricula" (51:5). Kelly pointed out that

> For every engineer, industry needs several technicians. Doctors and dentists need laboratory technicians to help them. Practical nurses can do much to solve the nurse shortage. In almost every professional pursuit there is need for persons with less than full professional training (51:19).

He was not ready to offer a solution to the problems of providing more trained technical and semiprofessional personnel, for he stated that "how

Virginia is going to provide such short-course technical and semiprofessional training is still largely an unsolved problem" (51:19). As a consultant, he obviously saw his role only as calling attention to the various problems of higher education in the state, and not as offering solutions to them.

Just as he did not call for community colleges, neither did Kelly recommend a statewide network of any type of two-year college. He believed, however, that the state could profit from a more extensive network of branch colleges such as the ones established by William and Mary (51:30). * He felt that the service offered by the University of Virginia Extension Division played an important role in providing higher education for areas that would not otherwise have it. He also praised the University for being the only institution offering extension work, thus avoiding any overlap of functions (51:33).

Kelly's was the most extensive study on Virginia higher education up to that time (1951). That it failed to recommend a statewide network of two-year colleges did not necessarily mean a rejection of the idea that more people should receive education beyond high school. In fact, it clearly supported the idea, as shown by its emphasis on the need for vocational and technical education at the post-secondary level, but the General Assembly was not ready to implement any plan of coordination for higher education in the early 1950s. Instead, another study commission was to be established.

The 1954 session of the General Assembly adopted a joint resolution directing the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to study and report on the extension services of the various institutions of the state (39:5). The urgency of the situation, as felt by the group conducting the study, is shown by its title: *The Crisis in Higher Education in Virginia and a Solution.* The "crisis" was the growing number of college-age students and the lack of facilities to meet their needs. The solution offered by the committee was the establishment of two-year branches of existing institutions (39:6-14). It specifically rejected the community college because, in part, the commission felt that "it has been extremely difficult to maintain uniform standards of quality for the instruction offered by such community colleges, and in some instances accreditation by the recognized accrediting associations has not been obtained" (39:11).

The commission recognized the worthwhile contributions of private junior colleges, but contended that they were able to contribute because they have

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* William and Mary established a branch in Norfolk in 1930. This is now Old Dominion College, a separate state-supported institution. Richmond Professional Institute was established as another branch in 1925; today, it is part of Virginia Commonwealth University.

"generally been fully realistic as to their mission" (39:11). The community colleges, the commission maintained, would find it difficult to stick to their central purpose, and, in fact, might have to face pressures that would attempt to make them four-year institutions (39:11). *

This attitude to the comprehensive community college concept seemed more a dislike of the name "community college" than a rejection of its underlying philosophy. Some advantages of the branch college approach, as listed by the committee, would apply equally well to a comprehensive college. They were that branch colleges were less expensive to both the state and the student than the four-year institution; branches needed no dormitories; they could offer terminal courses to serve the many students who otherwise might not be able to gain admission to a four-year institution; they would screen out those who could not make it at a four-year college; and, finally, they could train skilled personnel for industry and allow students in such highly specialized programs as nursing to get their first year of training at the local branch (39:12). This study, then, although specifically rejecting the community college, actually advocated much that was later incorporated into the statewide system. One might even say that the committee rejected a name (community college), not a concept. Its strongest argument against the community college was the fear of its not being accredited. As will be shown later, this fear did not die easily.

In 1959, a legislative study further discouraged the democratization of post-high school education in Virginia. While not rejecting it outright, the study pointed out that the state's cost for educating the college student was increasing, while the cost to the student was decreasing. The committee stated: "This trend toward increasing the percentage of the State's share of the cost of higher education should be halted and, if possible, reversed" (50:7). The study advocated branch colleges, not as a means of increasing the availability of higher education, but of reducing cost. Perhaps the key to the commission's philosophy lay in the following statement: Virginia has sought to afford public education to all children through high school. *It has not adopted a policy of universal college education, nor in our judgment should it do so* (50:9; italics added). The commission recommended that state-supported institutions increase tuition materially for all students, that the fees for out-of-state students be increased, and that television be used as a more economical approach to higher education (50:10-11).

Obviously this 1959 commission was in no mood to move toward the democratization of higher education in the state. In fact, its mood was

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* It is interesting to note that Governor Mills Godwin, Jr., warned the people in a speech in Roanoke Oct. 23, 1969, against applying pressure on the community colleges to become four-year institutions (28m).

belligerent toward making it more readily available at the taxpayer's expense. This attitude, if allowed to prevail, would surely have killed any movement toward a comprehensive system of higher education for all citizens. Yet, up to that point in history (with the possible exception of the "suggested guidelines" offered in 1950 by the Subcommittee on Higher Education), no one person or group had seriously proposed offering every youth in Virginia an opportunity to obtain inexpensive post-high school education.

As the 1960s approached, various economic, social, and political forces not only failed to advocate higher education for the masses, but actually worked against providing greater access to the state's institutions of higher education. Ironically, though, it was the late 1950s that produced the first major study concerned with the desirability and feasibility of a network of two-year colleges in the state. In December 1959, a study authorized by the Virginia State Council of Higher Education and directed by S. V. Martorana was published. It was entitled *Needs, Policies and Plans for 2-Year Colleges in Virginia*. From this point on, the comprehensive community college was no stranger to any legislator or other citizen who wanted to take the time to read the 1959 Martorana study.

Part II

ESTABLISHING THE NEED FOR MORE POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

In 1956, the General Assembly created the State Council of Higher Education "to promote the development and operation of a sound, vigorous, progressive, and coordinated system of higher education in the State of Virginia." It was to be the agency for coordinating both the biennial budget requests and the off-campus extension and public service offerings of all state-controlled institutions of higher education. Especially important for the development of a statewide network of two-year colleges was that part of the law making the council responsible for reviewing the need for and location of new institutions of higher education: "No State institution of higher learning shall establish any additional branch or division or extension without first referring the matter to the Council for its information, consideration and recommendation and without specific approval by the General Assembly of the location and type of such branch or division. . . ." The intention of the law was that, from then on, the state-supported institutions of higher education in the state were to "constitute a coordinated system."

The General Assembly made it clear that the council was not to be a "super-board," for it stated that "in carrying out its duties the Council insofar as practicable shall preserve the individuality, traditions and sense of responsibility of the respective institutions." Further, its powers were to be limited to those outlined by the law creating it; the governing boards of the individual institutions were to continue to make policy and, in general, to operate as they had in the past.

Also important for the future development of a statewide system of community colleges was the clause stating that "in addition to the other powers and duties herein imposed upon the Council, the Council shall undertake such studies in the field of higher education as the Governor and General Assembly, or either of them, may from time to time require of it" (36). *

The establishment of the State Council of Higher Education gave the state the coordinating body that had been the subject of so many speeches

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* In 1968, it was declared that no institution in the state should confer any college degree, academic, professional, or honorary, unless the council approved. This, of course, was not only an attempt to coordinate the granting of degrees, but also a weapon against "degree mills" that might hope to operate in the state.

and studies in the past. Future studies could now devote their energies to some area other than coordination and would soon produce results.

In 1959, the council authorized a study to determine the need for comprehensive two-year colleges in Virginia. The council, after completing it, was to relay the results to the General Assembly, which, in turn, was to decide "whether the children now in elementary and secondary schools will have the opportunities for college education equal to those that the legislators, themselves, and other adult Virginians enjoyed" (56:ix). Chosen to head the study, as noted earlier, was S. V. Martorana, Chief, State and Regional Organization of the U. S. Office of Education. He was assisted by Ernest V. Hollis, Ken August Brunner, and D. Grant Morrison. Morrison, at the time of the study, was Specialist, Community and Junior Colleges, for the USOE. This study, by these four competent people, was the first to make a thorough examination of the need for a statewide system of comprehensive two-year colleges.

The study reached several conclusions of significance to anyone concerned with broadening the base of higher education in Virginia. It concluded that, in 1959, gaps existed in the state's educational opportunities. These gaps occurred primarily because only some areas of the state had access to institutions of higher education (56:2). Obviously, then, these gaps could be filled if every Virginian were within commuting distance of a college. The study group believed that a decentralized system of two-year colleges would be economical for both the state and the student. The student would save money by living at home and the state would save by not having to provide housing (56:3). The State Council of Higher Education should, the Martorana group insisted, recommend to the General Assembly that a number of two-year colleges be developed. "Unless the State Council takes action to launch and implement a sound policy and program of two-year college development, there is a danger that haphazard and wasteful local efforts will develop on a unilateral basis (56:4). Again, one sees the concern for coordination of higher education creeping into the discussion. (By this time, of course, the state council was active and already serving this coordinating function.)

The Martorana study recommended that the two-year college be comprehensive in nature and have "a definitive commitment" to serve its community. The offerings should include programs similar to those in the first two years of four-year institutions and in the more traditional junior colleges. In addition, they were to include occupational programs leading directly to employment after one or two years of preparation; they should also offer a wide variety of adult education and community-service programs. Great emphasis should be placed on guidance and counseling programs, which, along with a diversity of programs, would allow the students to develop their talents more fully (56:5-6). The programs

advocated were similar to those recommended by the State Board for Community Colleges (as discussed in the first part of this paper). Martorana and his associates were aware that, if a student were to develop his talents, he must have an opportunity to enter a curriculum that would use them. The major difference in curriculum development between the Martorana study and the guidelines of the State Board for Community Colleges was that the latter emphasized the need to give the students a chance to work in foundation (remedial or developmental) areas, while the Martorana study did not.

The 1959 study did not recommend an independent system of two-year colleges. Instead, it suggested that the existing system of higher education be used to establish and control the two-year colleges (56:5). "It is wiser to modify existing policy in the light of new developments than to completely depart from what has operated successfully in the past" (56:35). When asked why the study recommended that the two-year colleges remain under the control of the four-year institutions instead of going under a separate system, Martorana stated:

> We [the four consultants] did it because we wanted to set up in Virginia a transitional period -- an interim plan. We knew that it was impossible, practically, to help Virginia leap into the future completely in one step. . . . We had to shake the technical colleges loose from the State Board of Vocational Education and so on. So this was a transitional arrangement (83).

Yet the consultants, while acknowledging that historical precedent must be considered, did not imply that former state policy must be rigidly adhered to, but only that the plan adopted should not "do violence to the precedents" observed over the years. In fact, no historical precedent existed for the use of local tax funds on a continuing basis to support higher education, but the Martorana study suggested that this be changed. It recommended that the local area bear the total cost of the site and site development and that it be encouraged to help meet the initial cost of buildings and equipment (56:13, 35-36, 53-57). "In most of the areas visited, the opinion was expressed that public two-year colleges should be financed by tuition and state funds only. . ." (56:40). The study rejected, however, the idea that one-third of the cost of a student's education should be financed by tuition. No student should be "priced out of higher education" (56:41).

Martorana and his associates showed their awareness of historical precedent by rejecting the idea that each local college should have its own board of visitors and that there should be a state board for two-year colleges. The study "concluded that an evolutionary change in the existing structure to bring into it new two-year colleges would be more effective than a serious modification of the established state plan" (56:5).

The Martorana plan called for the State Council of Higher Education to serve as the overall coordinating agency for the new two-year colleges; but, as the new colleges developed, they were to be placed under the board of visitors of existing state institutions of higher education that offered general education. While rejecting an independent board of visitors for each two-year college, the study did recommend that a "citizens' local college committee of from 7 to 9 persons" be appointed by the board of visitors that governed the local college. This local board was to insure that the college served its own community. The local two-year college should have its own budget for development and operation and its chief administrator (to be chosen by local college committees, not by the parent institution) should have a direct line of communication with the top executive of the sponsoring institution (56:6-7, 53-57). (This would normally be the president of the four-year institution that sponsored the two-year colleges.)

The 1959 Martorana study emphasized that the new colleges, although under the "umbrella" of the established institutions, should primarily provide educational services in their own location, "*thus broadening the base for higher education.* Therefore, it is important that each two-year college have an orientation and dedication to a local service" (56:8; italics added).

The above was not an unqualified endorsement for local action. In fact (again returning to the control issue), the study pointed out that local effort might result in waste that could be prevented through careful overall planning (56:17-18, 34). The plan called for local planning, but local planning subject to review by the State Council of Higher Education to prevent the overlap of programs within an area.

The study recommended that the programs offered by the vocational-technical schools in Danville, the Staunton-Waynesboro area, and Washington County be expanded to become community colleges (56:9). * Adhering to the comprehensive concept, the study pointed out the danger of failing to use the two-year colleges for technical and occupational courses as well as the more traditional offerings in liberal arts. The failure would be "both economically wasteful and educationally unsound" (56:10).

The Martorana group was aware that Virginia was changing from an agricultural to an industrial economy. In 1956, expenditures for new and expanded plants had increased almost 1,000 percent over 1939 figures; construction contracts in 1957 were $400 million higher than in 1941; and retail sales in 1957 were nearly six times greater than in 1939 (56:17-18). **

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* The functions of these area vocational schools have been absorbed by the Community College System in a manner similar to that recommended.

** While these figures do not take into account the decreasing value of the dollar, they demonstrate the shift toward a non-agricultural economy.

The demand for clerical workers increased 93 percent, while for farm laborers and foremen, it declined 32 percent. A study in the Tidewater area of the state showed a shortage of medical technicians (56:17-18). If the demands of an industrialized society were to be met, the state must acknowledge its transformation and begin to offer an appropriate educational program.

The Martorana study set forth many ideas later incorporated into the statewide system of community colleges that finally emerged in 1966. As has been pointed out, the 1959 consultants did not feel that the community colleges should come under a separate board, but the 1966 law that eventually created the community college system did establish a State Board for Community Colleges. This particular point in the Martorana study, while perhaps important in implementing any plan of two-year colleges, was not important enough in itself to cause this sound study to fail. Yet fail it did. It did not bring about any significant change in higher education and it failed completely in its primary goal: to bring about a statewide system of publicly financed two-year comprehensive colleges. It failed to produce a bill in the next session of the General Assembly that would say: "the children now in elementary and secondary schools will have the opportunities for college education equal to those the legislators, themselves, and other adult Virginians enjoyed." One must ask, before proceeding further into events leading to a statewide system of community colleges, why the 1959 Martorana study failed.

Its failure was not due to rejection by the State Council of Higher Education. (In fact, this body gave unqualified endorsement to the plan.) The council recommended that the community colleges be given top priority and that, out of a recommended budget of $45,413,897 for capital requests for 1960-62, $5,453,510 be spent on community colleges (33:4-5). The council grasped the significance of what the Martorana study said about the contribution that could be made to higher education by the comprehensive two-year college. "The desirability of community colleges results from economies to be achieved both for the state and the student, from their effectiveness in providing specialized training of local manpower, and from their positive impact upon the education level of Virginia's citizenry" (33:4). The council hit on a key issue, one to be developed more fully later in this study, when it pointed out that "existing community institutions (branch colleges) do not conform to the comprehensive type of institution envisioned in the Martorana study" (33:6). Martorana, in a recent interview, stated that the State Council of Higher Education gave strong support to the plan and that "they did their best to get it through" (83). Martorana did not feel that there was any failure on the part of the council to provide adequate leadership. The breakdown between recommendations and implementation did not, then, come in the area of coordination.

Martorana insists that the plan failed because of opposition from the established four-year institutions. He states that

> . . . the organized higher education establishment, the University of Virginia, even though it was a branch system we had in mind, didn't like the idea; especially since we strengthened the two-year colleges' identity and indicated that in the long run even more identity would have to be given them. This was the opposition that ultimately caused the whole idea not to get very far. (83)

In a later part of the interview, Martorana stated that "the major universities didn't want to run the risk of losing dollars that they thought they controlled."

He maintains that the race issue did not discourage the expansion of higher education as recommended by his study, and that, when the question concerning race was asked, "in our surveys and probing into that, we got no overt or open indication that this should be a factor that in any way would influence our recommendation." Further, "no significant people or group that we interviewed or dealt with suggested a separate and equal or separate segregated system of two-year colleges" (83).

While the race issue in the late 1950s in Virginia is too complicated to investigate here, it seems it would surely have entered into any plan that intended to truly democratize post-high school education. Why, one must ask, would a state that had just taken its stand for "massive resistance" be willing to put millions of dollars into the system recommended by Martorana, whose diversity of programs could not legally be limited to the white race? One should also note that, although Dabney S. Lancaster, Chairman of the State Council of Higher Education, believed in abiding by the law, including the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, he was also a Southerner who believed "in a simple justice that meant, for him, doing absolutely everything for the Negro that you did for the white *but* keeping the races separate" (9:148-149).

The race issue would probably have entered the picture if the movement toward a comprehensive program of post-high school education had ever reached the point where legislators were faced with supporting it with tax dollars. However, since the Martorana plan was not voted on in the General Assembly, the question is academic and needs no further investigation at this point.

Before doing the study for the council, the team under Martorana had conducted one on higher education in Tidewater, Virginia, initiated by the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Junior Chamber paid

for the study, including the cost of publishing the entire report. * Among its conclusions was that a comprehensive two-year college should be established to offer general studies and occupational programs and to be responsive to the needs of business and industry in the area (53:13).

The Tidewater study showed that the citizens of the area were intensely interested in more post-high school education in the area. Parents naturally wanted to see their children get an education and were aware that its availability was a key factor in bringing industry to the state. A letter from the Vice-president of General Dynamics Corporation verified the latter belief; in it he stated that proximity of institutions of higher education was important in deciding where to locate new plants. Other top executives in other industries took a similar stand (53:59-60).

Local interest in developing a sound comprehensive program of post-high school education was documented by the Education Committee of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. "Undoubtedly, the demand for community college graduates with technical training will increase drastically in the next few years as more and more scientific processes become commonplace in production and distribution and other phases of business" (48:24-25). The study also showed that many employers were beginning to appreciate the two-year graduate. One industrial leader acknowledged that he was as valuable in most jobs as the four- or five-year college graduate (48:25).

The Chamber of Commerce study team concluded that the Virginia businesses and professional leaders recognized the importance of adult education and that Virginians in general would take advantage of night and extension courses if they were available. To satisfy completely the needs of the adult population, higher education "must offer both specialized and non-specialized courses in their extension or evening divisions" (48:27, 28). The Chamber found that workers with such training as drafting, tool making, electronics, accounting, secretarial work, and other areas requiring two years of college were in great demand. One respondent to a questionnaire sent out by the Chamber replied:

> . . . one of the greatest needs in post-high school vocational training is the development throughout the state of sophisticated vocational programs designed to provide industry with an adequate supply of highly skilled technicians. There is currently a shortage of workers in Virginia who are qualified to meet industry's needs in the important occupational

* The State Council of Higher Education paid for publishing the condensed version of the study.

> categories between skilled laborer and graduate engineer. Remedying this situation through expanded and strengthened post-high school vocational training would help tremendously in Virginia's efforts to attract new industry (48:37-38).

The respondents believed overwhelmingly that having a college within commuting distance (thirty miles or less) would be a significant advantage to their business (48:39).

Included in the Chamber of Commerce's study was a survey of the presidents of the senior institutions of higher education. One president made some points that were later considered in the development of a statewide system of community colleges. He stated that:

> If technical courses are included in the curricula offered by community colleges, then technical institutes are not needed. The current expansion of the community college program in Florida and California should be studied carefully. Virginia could profit immensely from the experiences of these two states. The cost of higher education in Virginia prohibits many capable youngsters from pursuing post-high school work. Also, the limited availability of strategically located community colleges will increase the number of students enrolled in higher education (48:59). *

Included in the report of the Chamber of Commerce were the recommendations that two-year institutions, including technical institutes, be established wherever they were clearly needed and that the base of higher education be widened considerably in all areas, extension service and graduate work, as well as two-year curriculums (48:76-77).

The Council of Presidents of State-Aided Institutions of Higher Learning in Virginia also acknowledge the influence of higher education on economic development in Virginia. In a special report, the Council of Presidents stated that for the "proper economic development of the Commonwealth . . . the higher education programs of the Commonwealth must be expanded to reach, or at least approach, national averages concerning enrollments and levels of public support considered important by modern industry considering expansion or new location" (47:1). The council also pointed out that Virginia could afford to pay more of the cost of higher education than it was currently paying, for, since tuition charges in state-supported institutions of higher education in Virginia were already higher than the

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* The author of this statement was not identified except as a president of a four-year institution of higher education in the state.

national average, this source of revenue could not be expected to provide operating funds for the future. The Council of Presidents, while noting that the need for technical training was being publicized in the state, neither recommended nor rejected this approach to post-high school education (47:2-3, 7, 13).

The economic value of higher education was further documented by Joseph G. Hamrick, then Executive Assistant to the Governor of Virginia and Director of Industrial Development and Planning for Virginia. In 1964, he stated that there were not enough vocational-technical schools in the state (44:5). He further concluded that "economic growth is no longer possible without educational growth which included expansion of curriculums as well as expansion of educational facilities. We must provide the kind of education that permits our young people to participate in our growing economy to the extent of their abilities (44:8).

Edwin E. Holm, an economist for the Virginia Division of Industrial Development, writing in the *Virginia Economic Review* in 1963, stated that "the changing economy is having more impact on our educational needs than at any time in our history" (18:2). The economy was undergoing a decline in farming and an increase in manufacturing.

> These changes . . . have brought about a significant upgrading in occupations. . . . Male employment in manufacturing increased by 25 percent for the decade, the number of technical and professional workers increased by an astounding 128 percent, craftsmen by 42 percent, semiskilled workers (operatives and kindred) by 13 percent, and laborers declined by 17 percent. This occupational upgrading gives every indication that it is likely to continue (18:5).

Service industries increased 35 percent in the 1950s, and medical and health-related employment was up 72 percent to more than 50,000 persons in 1963. While not recommending a particular program of development, Holm concluded that, unless the state developed a broad program of post-high school education, "Virginia will lose an opportunity to be of great service to its people and the nation" (18:6, 8).

The State Council of Higher Education's biennial report for 1958-60 acknowledged that Virginia's increasing population and its transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy were two factors putting pressure on higher education to provide more post-high school education (33:1). The council stated that:

> . . . the desirability of community colleges results from economies to be achieved for the State and the student, from their effectiveness in providing specialized training of local

> manpower, and from their positive impact upon the educational level of Virginia's citizenry (33:4).

The council, while advocating (in addition to the college-transfer curriculum) a comprehensive program including courses leading to employment upon graduation, failed to acknowledge that a community college might be needed in an area that already had a public four-year institution. The council recommended that community colleges be established only in areas beyond

> . . . reasonable commuting distance to an existing public institution of higher learning, and that said areas be required to meet such other objective criteria as are established to assure economical operation of these institutions (33:5).

This recommendation was made even though the council knew that only the Norfolk Division of William and Mary (Old Dominion College today) and Virginia State approached the comprehensive type of community college it recommended (33:6). While the council endorsed the concept of comprehensive community colleges in its 1960 publication, it did not at the time endorse a statewide system. It was by no means through with the concept, however.

In its report for 1960-62, the Council of Higher Education stated that "the growth of college enrollments and the increased interest in local communities for establishing post-high school educational programs has led the Council to formulate a more comprehensive policy for the development of community two-year colleges" (34:1). The council in reality rejected the concept of democratizing higher education for all Virginia youth, for it suggested that new two-year institutions be developed in locations where they would meet the greatest need (34:4). However, while not suggesting a statewide system, the council fully appreciated that a truly comprehensive college should offer transfer programs, terminal programs in a number of occupational fields, and a program of general adult education. At this time, the council was ready to recommend that the two-year community colleges be developed in two stages. First the community college was to be designated an "off-campus branch" of a four-year institution; second, when the off-campus branch grew in enrollment and programs to where "it is deemed advisable to provide a more extensive financial investment by the State," the two-year branch was to become a two-year college unit under the governing board of the parent institution (34:5).

Again, however, the council failed to acknowledge that students' talents and ambitions vary and that, if these capabilities were to reach fruition, a comprehensive program of post-high school education would have to be developed. The council's hesitation on this point is shown again (as in the 1958-60 report) by its insistence that a community college be at least thirty

miles from existing public colleges accepting day students and that, to qualify for a site, the area must "provide evidence that the proposed program will not materially affect such private colleges as may be situated in the area" (34:7). One hardly needs to point out again that the four-year colleges in Virginia were neither comprehensive nor able to develop the talents of students wanting terminal programs to prepare them for employment.

One can thus see that Virginians were relating education to economics and that the State Council of Higher Education was ready to offer a plan whereby more Virginians might receive higher education. In addition, Virginia was feeling the pressure of an increasing number of college-age youth. It was estimated that the college-age (18-21) population would increase from 216,880 in 1960 to 380,000 in 1985, an increase of 75 percent in the twenty-five year period (65:ix). Virginia's total population in 1964 was 4,378,000, an increase of almost 32 percent over the 1950 population. During the same years, the total population of the United States increased by 27 percent, but in the South, by less than 25 percent. Also in 1964, over half the state's population was concentrated in six metropolitan areas. Finally, it was estimated that Virginia's college enrollment would increase from 78,000 in 1964 to 120,000 in 1970. As A. J. Brumbaugh declared, "This means that during a six-year period public higher education in Virginia will have to expand to accommodate more students than the total increase in the numbers enrolled in these institutions during the preceding 14 years, 1950-1964" (35:10-11). As pointed out in the first part of this study, Virginia was enrolling only 25.2 percent of its high school graduates in college in 1964.

When one considers that industrial leaders, educational consultants, economists, the State Council of Higher Education, Chambers of Commerce, and various other groups were aware of the need for a broader base for higher education and that the number of college-age students was increasing rapidly, one might safely conclude that higher education in Virginia was due for a change. Could the State provide the technical education called for by industry? Could it offer educational opportunities to most of its youth as recommended by the council? Was Virginia really ready to meet what might rightly be called the "impending crisis" in higher education? It would appear that, if the state intended to meet the crisis, it must try to meet the needs of both its economy and its citizens. Thus the legislators were soon to decide that the answer lay in the development of a system of technical colleges.

Chancellor Emeritus Dana B. Hamel and Governor Albertis S. Harrison, Jr., converse at the System's 20th Anniversary Celebration.

Part III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SYSTEM OF TECHNICAL COLLEGES

Virginia had put forth some effort toward meeting the crisis in higher education. The State Council of Higher Education pointed out that in 1960 the state had eight institutions classified as "community colleges." It defined "the essential characteristic of a community college [as not being] the level of its programs, but the fact that it is a nonresidential institution, responsive to the needs of its local community" (34:14). Three of the eight were four-year institutions; the remaining five were two-year colleges under the control of the University of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, or The College of William and Mary. Only two of them, however, approached any degree of comprehensiveness in their course offerings.

By 1974, there were eleven two-year colleges. Of these, five were under the control of the University of Virginia, four under Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and two under The College of William and Mary (35:47-48). One should not be deceived, however, into thinking that the two-year college of 1964 was the same as the comprehensive community college later advocated by the General Assembly and State Board for Community Colleges in 1966. First, the enrollment in the eleven publicly financed two-year colleges amounted to only 3,314 students out of a total of 78,041 students enrolled in all institutions of higher education in the state. Of the students in the state-controlled two-year colleges in 1964, 79 percent were in transfer programs. Only one of the two-year colleges (Roanoke Technical Institute) enrolled any appreciable number in terminal programs (101 students out of a total of 109). Four of the two-year branches offered no terminal-occupational programs, but even more telling was that nine of them offered no adult education; the other two taught a total of only 77 adults (35:49-57). In 1964, the two-year colleges were comprehensive in no major way. They developed neither as Martorana recommended nor as the State Council of Higher Education visualized them.

Not only did the two-year branches lack terminal programs and adult education, but they also had highly selective admission requirements (73:1). One study showed that the students in the state-controlled two-year colleges in Virginia were academically superior to those in the private two-year colleges (73:118). The branches not only did little to democratize higher education in the state, they even appeared to cater to the "cult of the bachelor's degree," as A. J. Brumbaugh put it. "Social pressures in the past have been toward higher education for recognized degrees. This seems to be especially true for Virginia" (35:62).

One should note that the branch college was the first major attempt by Virginia to offer community-based higher education (as discussed earlier, one legislative commission saw the branch-college approach as the solution to Virginia's educational crisis), but one should also note that this approach had certain shortcomings.

Donald E. Puyear, the Director of one of Virginia Polytechnic Institute's branch colleges and later president of a college in the community college system, made perceptive remarks about the branch colleges. In an interview, he stated that Virginia Polytechnic Institute exercised too much control over the branch.

This was true particularly in the academic area.

> It was a most strangulating situation. We were to offer only courses that were offered at V.P.I. We used the same outline and the same textbooks. There was nothing left to the discretion of the faculty at the branch. Our faculty then became the second rate faculty as far as the faculty members on the main campus were concerned. In many cases our people were as qualified or even more qualified than those on the parent campus (85).

In the same interview, although Puyear expressed fear that a statewide system of community colleges, with control in Richmond, might result in too much control over the individual colleges he maintained a wait-and-see attitude.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of the branches was their lack of comprehensiveness. Puyear, speaking on that issue, suggested that anything other than the university-parallel program at the branch he headed "would be somewhat of an embarrassment to the parent institution." While attempting to do some work in foundation courses and the occupational programs, Puyear admits that "we had to do a whole lot of what we were trying to do as a community college under the table. This was embarrassing to the administration on the home campus" (85).

A chairman of the local advisory board of a branch college (later the board chairman of the community college in his area), while praising the cooperation the college in his area had received from the parent institution, expressed some frustration with the programs at the branch colleges. He stated that, when he and other local citizens sought a college for their area, they had in mind "a college that would have a two-year collegiate program with a buildup of some of the terminal programs that would eventually serve a number of the students who were not equipped to enter college or to transfer to other schools." The chairman concluded that:

> . . . after several years of operation of the other branch colleges, V.P.I. was really interested only in the branch as a commuter school for the main campus at Blacksburg. We began to feel, and particularly in that respect, that we had been somewhat stifled by the attempts to set up a very high quality of education and the requirements were too high for most students of this area to get into (92). *

T. Marshall Hahn, President of Virginia Polytechnic Institute (and therefore president of the four V.P.I. branches), feels that the branches were making a contribution to higher education in the state, even though Virginia was lagging behind in the percentage of youth going on to higher education. Hahn believes that "one of the big deficiencies in our Virginia higher educational system was the absence of a system of community colleges." He points out that the selective admission policies of the branches excluded many students, a difficulty that would not likely exist in the case of community colleges (79).

State Senator William Stone, who fought long and hard to keep the two-year institution in his district a branch of the University of Virginia, feels that the branch colleges could not and should not offer a comprehensive program of occupational-technical programs. Stone contends that branches should be concerned only with university-parallel programs (90).

Prince B. Woodard, who became Director of the State Council of Higher Education in September 1964, viewed the branch-college concept as limited. He felt it was not productive enough and did not serve the diverse needs of the state. He did not favor the continuation of any of the two-year branches, although he realized that those that were ultimately to become four-year institutions should remain branches until the transition took place. (93).

One can thus see that the branch colleges had certain shortcomings as far as truly increasing the availability of higher education in the state. The main failings were that the branches were too selective in their admissions requirements and were not comprehensive enough to meet the needs of their area. They were neither meeting the needs of industry nor the needs of the students who did not want a university-parallel program. Either the branches had to broaden their offerings or the state must take other measures to insure that the talents of students who wanted occupational and semiprofessional programs found an outlet.

The state had made some effort to meet the vocational needs of the students and industry. In 1964, there were nine area vocational-technical schools. Two of these had been in existence since 1944; no new ones had

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* Warren was chairman of the local board of the Clifton Forge-Covington Branch of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and later board chairman of the community college formed from the branch institution.

been established since 1959. Some of the programs were at the high school level; others catered mostly to high school graduates (35:80-82). None of them offered the two-year degree. In fact, they were not adequate in number, in level of offerings, or in the number of graduates they turned out. If, as predicted, from 1960 to 1970 a total of 65,000 technical workers would be required, it would mean training approximately 6,500 a year. In 1962, the area vocational and technical schools were educating only 600 students a year; high schools throughout the state were preparing 1,850 annually and some 2,000 were in training in industry. This meant that the additional number needed, who would have to be educated by the schools, would be 2,050 each year (69:6). Even with expansion, the area vocational-technical schools would have a difficult time meeting the need for all these skilled workers. As the situation existed in the early 1960s, the area vocational schools were meeting the needs neither of industry nor of those students who did not want four years of college.

Governor Albertis S. Harrison, Jr., Governor of Virginia from 1962 to 1966, had made industrial growth a key issue in his campaign. In his first major address to the General Assembly, Harrison stated that, in all sections of the state, the primary concern of the people was industrial development. He pledged his administration to this industrial development.

> . . . Virginians are today demanding that the economy of their State be strengthened, and that they have an opportunity to earn incomes comparable to the best in any state in the Union. To a real extent, we have been successful in attracting new industry to Virginia and in encouraging expansion of existing plants. At the same time, there is a general feeling, right or wrong, that other states have been more aggressive and have been more successful. The competition for new industry among states is fierce. . . . There is a demand that Virginia have an active and vigorous industrial development program, and that the Governor of the State personally assume a more active role in this program (46a:5).

Governor Harrison was well aware of the role education must play in this development. Speaking of Virginia, he stated that "industries were interested in coming here, but only if they had a trained, skilled labor force waiting for them" (81). He believed that those workers must be trained in a fashion that would allow them to move quickly into middle-management positions: superintendents, foremen, and others capable of helping to run industry, and not simply of running the machines. The governor was convinced of the great need for this type of worker (81).

Speaking of the role of higher education in the total economic picture of Virginia, Harrison saw the community colleges as holding great promise for

meeting the educational needs of the state and at the same time for allowing the state to avoid the giant universities found in some states.

> Technical institutes, operated as part of these community colleges, can also help provide the trained labor supply for industry throughout the State. Such development, however, must follow a systematic and orderly plan, or else we will suffer the chaos that must result from establishing institutions willy-nilly across the State (46a:5).

Harrison was philosophically as well as practically oriented to the need for more education. In his inaugural address, he stated his belief that the citizens of the state could expect their government to provide them with adequate education. He expected "to see a renaissance of education in Virginia, creating an atmosphere in which the minds of our people may grow in vision as the opportunities for the use of the mind can grow in scope" (45:5). He saw education and industrial development as a partnership: more education meant more industry and more industry meant that more and better educated workers were required (81).

Governor Harrison had been Attorney General during the previous administration. In that position, he had taken a middle-of-the-road stance during the period of massive racial resistance and had alienated only the most extreme segregationists. Most of the wounds of the period were healed during his subsequent administration (15:238-240). Obviously he realized that his key project, industrial development, could not be realized without racial tranquility. He stated that:

> . . . my failure to mention the racial issue [in his first major address to the General Assembly] which has consumed so much of our time in years past is a deliberate omission. The progress that is so necessary to Virginia, and the programs that I ask you to consider, are designed for the welfare and happiness of all Virginians, irrespective of their race, color or creed (46a:43).

It was also obvious that the Harrison program of industrial development could not be achieved with the limited technical offerings of the branch colleges and the few graduates of the area vocational-technical schools. In fact, the need for more technical education brought a major breakthrough in extending post-high school education in the state.

This breakthrough came in part because, as his administration developed, Harrison "began to talk less of Virginia's glorious past and more of its present needs" (15:243). Included in the present needs was "an immediate reevaluation of vocational and technical education in Virginia."

This reevaluation was necessary because of the "rapid growth of technological knowledge and the increasing urbanization of our population" (69:1).

In the 1960s Virginia was changing from a rural to an urban state. By 1965, over 53 percent of the state's total population was contained in a relatively few urban centers (15:244). The members of the General Assembly were aware of the changing face of Virginia and of the new demands of an industrialized society. The 1962 General Assembly created a Commission on Vocational and Technical Education headed by Delegate D. French Slaughter, which was to make a study and recommend a course of action for improving vocational and technical education in public post-high school institutions. The commission reported that:

> The nature of jobs now available in Virginia business and industry demands a higher level of skills from more people than is now afforded by the available vocational and technical training. In addition, if Virginia is to continue to attract new industry, the need for workers with new and advanced skills becomes even greater (69:1).

Further, the Virginia legislators and professional staff who made up the Slaughter Commission were aware that technical education was philosophically in tune with the times. Changing conditions "were creating greater respect for the status and dignity of vocationally trained workers. There is a growing awareness that the new jobs created by technological development can lead to rewarding lifetime careers" (69:1).

To be successful, technical education at the post-high school level obviously must undergo constant revision. The curriculum must be designed to meet the opportunities for employment in the institution's own community. The commission, acknowledging these facts, saw the greatest need for the expansion of technical education at the post-high school level. To administer it, the commission recommended that a State Board of Technical Education be created with the necessary staff to run the area vocational and technical schools (69:13-16).

The Slaughter Commission recommended the expansion of the six existing vocational schools and the creation of five new ones. It suggested that the existing schools become a part of the proposed system, but maintained that the local areas should make this decision. The branch colleges were also to be used to produce more technical graduates (69:6, 15).

Governor Harrison gave his endorsement to the recommendations of the Slaughter Commission on Vocational and Technical Education. He stated: "I

attest the accuracy of the commission's evaluation of the importance of vocational and technical education in Virginia. This matter is just as urgent, and its need just as impelling, as the commission portrays it to be." Further, the governor placed the "full support of his administration behind those who would provide increased vocational and technical education in this State." He urged the General Assembly to implement a plan of technical education based on the recommendations of the commission (46b:19).

The General Assembly reacted favorably to Harrison's recommendation. In March 1964, it passed an act creating the State Board of Technical Education as well as the Department of Technical Education, which was to have a director appointed by the Governor, subject to confirmation by the General Assembly. The 1964 legislators felt that the "impending crisis" in Virginia's plan of post-high school education had reached such a state that "an emergency exists and this act is in force from its passage" (32a:672-75).

The State Department of Technical Education officially began operation on September 1, 1964. Dana B. Hamel, former Director of Roanoke Technical Institute, was chosen as its first director. Of twelve regions in the state that applied for a technical college, three were chosen: one in northern Virginia, one in Chesterfield, and the other in the Harrisonburg-Staunton-Waynesboro region.

But what was the system of technical schools to entail? Perhaps the best picture can be obtained from *A Guide for the Establishment of Technical Colleges in Virginia*. This document, published in February of 1965 by the Department of Technical Education, gives a brief history of the development of the technical colleges, explains the underlying philosophical concepts of them, and serves as a guide for those regions wishing to apply for such a college.

The *Guide* defines a technical college as "a nonresident, multipurpose, and area-centered institution that offers to high school graduates, and others who are not high school graduates but are older than the normal high school age, opportunities [for obtaining an education]." Curriculums for preparing technicians in engineering, medical, health, agriculture, business, service, and other fields were to be included. The technical college was also to offer classes for employed adults as well as trade courses for craftsmen. In addition, "where college transfer credit courses, either public or private, are not available, such courses may be offered subject to the approval of the State Council of Higher Education" (43:3-4).

The approach to the technical colleges was similar to that used in many comprehensive community colleges. Although the *Guide* always used the phrase "may include" in reference to college-parallel work, it makes the point that, although college-parallel and technical courses are discussed separately in the *Guide*, "there will be no rigid separation within the

institution" (43:5). The *Guide* also contains provisions for foundation work and for awarding the Associate of Applied Science Degree (43:6). A. J. Brumbaugh, in commenting on the *Guide*, states that "in fact, the programs presented in the *Guide* are so broad in nature that a technical college patterned along the lines suggested would meet most of the criteria for a community junior college" (35:87).

The technical colleges in the Virginia system were designed to keep student costs low. Out of an estimated operating cost of $800 per student per school year, the student was to pay $135, the state $585, and the locality $80. (The locality's expense of one-tenth of the operation costs was greater under the system of technical colleges than under the present system of comprehensive community colleges.)

The State Board of Technical Education was designed to exercise a great deal of central control to determine student costs, to review applications from the political subdivisions requesting a technical college, and to appoint the chief administrative officer of the college (43:7-16). *

The technical college received immediate attention from areas across the state. Governor Harrison called it a "child of our times" and declared that it was a "college of necessity" rather than a place to escape from the world. He stated that "our new respect for the technician is a reflection of his growing importance. . . . This college is a part of this same reflection" (31b). One editor described the creation of the Department of Technical Education as a noteworthy accomplishment of Harrison's administration, going hand-in-hand with his other major accomplishment, bringing industry to the state (27e). ** One official termed the announcement of a technical college to be located in his area the "economic salvation" of the area, for he and other officials hoped that its establishment would bring industry to their region (25a).

It was observed that the populous Northern Virginia area needed a technical college. The region had substantial industry and expected much more; the population density demanded that more college-level institutions be located there; and, according to one editor, the area must fight to get a technical college (24).

One writer, in commenting on the technical college, stated that the desirability of this "third level of education" was hardly debatable. He also

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* This reference contains a complete discussion on costs, control, and criteria for establishing a technical college.

** More than $950 million in new manufacturing plant investment was added during Harrison's four years; over 300 new manufacturing plants were added and 325 more expanded.

believed that the technical college was not only a means of meeting the needs of the economy, but also an important factor in meeting human needs in today's society (28). Another writer in the same city called the move to establish a network of technical colleges "a bold, imaginative move which deserves to succeed" (29a).

Five counties in industry-poor Southside Virginia viewed the technical colleges as a hope for future industrial development.

> When these schools are opened community leaders are hoping for a major increase in industrial interest for their rural areas. The supply of workers for industrial plants is available in these areas, but they are untrained in certain specialized areas. With these technical colleges located in areas where the worker lives, industrial prospects will locate where they can get workers trained for their individual types of needs (27d).

These favorable comments give some indication of how important the development of technical colleges was considered by various areas of the state. Yet, as with most moves that touch on the economic, social, and political lives of the citizens of a state, it was not without its critics.

The question of locating a technical school on the campus of an existing branch college became a political issue in the Hopewell-Petersburg area. Some groups felt that Richard Bland College (a division of William and Mary) in Petersburg should have the technical college for the area, but the vice-mayor of Hopewell, after returning from a tour of technical schools in South Carolina, concluded that under no circumstances should a technical school be located at a liberal arts college. He contended that Petersburg was trying to "snatch the school" from his area (21).

David Y. Paschall, President of The College of William and Mary and former head of the State Department of Education, feared that overemphasis on technical education might turn the students into "mechanical robots." He believed that local colleges should be expanded, but that they should maintain an emphasis on liberal arts (31a).

The Republican Party state chairman claimed that the proposed establishment of three technical colleges was "little more than window-dressing for the gubernatorial ambitions of Lt. Governor Mills Godwin." Delegate Willis M. Anderson, a Democrat from Roanoke, claimed that the Republican charges were the result of "ignorance and malice." Anderson, one of the sponsors of the 1964 act establishing the State Department of Technical Education, stated that the purposes of the technical colleges were in no way political, but were designed to provide technical education for the youth of the state (29b). While the issue became political in a sense, it did not create widespread dissent in political circles. In fact, only one member

of the House of Delegates and two members of the Senate voted against the law creating the Department of Technical Education (54a:206; 55:517). *

Perhaps the most critical statement was made by a county supervisor from Augusta. He claimed that the move to establish state-operated technical colleges was the "biggest step our state has taken toward socialism." He felt that there was no need for the state to furnish an inexpensive education for its youth. He stated that "I am convinced that any boy or girl that has finished high school has enough grants available so they can go to college without the state paying for it" (28a). Most officials of Augusta County were apprehensive of the system of technical colleges, for they feared that it would destroy their area vocational school (28a).

In 1966, as Governor Harrison prepared to turn the state government over to his successor, Mills E. Godwin, Jr., he could indeed look back to his inaugural address and feel that he had witnessed something of a "renaissance in education" in the state. Harrison saw his administration as one of transition from a rural to an urban state. He had called for, and for the most part achieved, racial calm. He saw the real solution to racial problems as more and better jobs for all Virginians (27e). In his last address to the General Assembly, Harrison referred to the "totally new program of technical education" inaugurated under his administration. He also took pride in the fact that five branch colleges had been opened during his four years as governor. He pointed out that one technical college had been opened (Northern Virginia Technical College in September of 1965) and that funds for two more had been appropriated. In this last address, he recommended that money be appropriated for six more technical colleges in the next biennium (46c:4).

It appeared that Virginia, during the Harrison administration, had finally settled on the direction for an expanded program of post-high school education. It seemed it was to include either branches or "community colleges" under the control of established institutions of higher education in the state and also a system of technical colleges under the control of the State Department of Technical Education. **

This, however, was not to be the case. The "renaissance" witnessed by Harrison was soon to receive new impetus and, this impetus was to lead to the development of a statewide network of public comprehensive community colleges.

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* The two senators who voted against the bill were asked why they voted as they did. They did not reply to the inquiry.

** This approach, used then and now in South Carolina, had influenced the thinking of various Virginians during these years.

Part IV

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A STATEWIDE SYSTEM OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES

The 1963 Slaughter Commission, which recommended the establishment of a network of technical colleges, has also made another recommendation, one that indicated that the issue of post-high school education was far from settled in the commission's mind. It suggested that:

> In the long run, the State should consider meeting all of these post-high school educational needs through a system of comprehensive community colleges under the proposed State Board of Technical Education, perhaps with a more appropriate title. Consequently, the Commission recommends that the parent institutions [Virginia Polytechnic Institute, University of Virginia, and The College of William and Mary], the Council of Higher Education and the State Board of Technical Education make a joint study of the feasibility of such a system, with particular emphasis upon such problems as accreditation, transfer of credits and financial savings (69:15-16).

Similarly, the 1964 session of the General Assembly (that called for the establishment of a network of technical colleges) also made provision for the appointment of the Virginia Higher Education Study Commission. This commission, which made its report to the General Assembly in 1965, concluded that "the most urgent need in Virginia's program of higher education is the development of a system of comprehensive community colleges. The highest priority should be given to this development" (64:18).

The section on the two-year college of the Higher Education Study Commission was headed by a staff supplied by the Southern Regional Education Board. The major consultant and author of the two-year college report was A. J. Brumbaugh. Among his recommendations was that "steps be taken as soon as feasible to transfer the two-year branches of the State's higher institutions, the post-high school area-vocational school programs, and the two-year technical colleges to the Community College and Technical Education Board" (35:10-11). The Community College and Technical Education Board was to replace the State Board of Technical Education established in 1964 for the technical colleges and was also to be the governing board for a statewide system of community colleges.

In 1966, the recommendations of the Slaughter Commission (1963) and the Higher Education Study Commission (1964) reached fruition with the

passage of legislation calling for the establishment of a statewide system of publicly supported community colleges. The question that immediately arises is why the state decided to take a new direction in its movement to broaden its post-high school educational program.

It has already been suggested that the branch college was not comprehensive enough to meet the state's technical training needs; the technical college, by definition, was not comprehensive unless it added university-parallel programs similar to those at the branches. Was the establishment of a statewide system of community colleges revolutionary, or was it simply another step in the evolutionary process, a process that saw

> . . . each one of [Virginia's] more vocal citizens . . . telling us essentially the same things. He is saying that regardless of where he comes from or where he works, regardless of his religious or political convictions, the color of his skin, or the size of his bank account, he wants equal opportunity, in every respect, for himself and for his children (26g). *

The 1966 General Assembly, by passing legislation that would create a statewide system of comprehensive community colleges, took its biggest step in the democratization of post-high school education in Virginia. Virginians would be able to develop their talents, no matter where they lived. By calling for comprehensive colleges, the legislators acknowledged that, if their needs were to be met, the citizens must have a choice of what they studied in college.

The legislators meeting in 1966 did not have to look far into the past to discover that the comprehensive community college was not a revolution, but another step in the evolutionary process of utilizing the talents of more and more citizens. In fact, the link with the past was provided by the Slaughter Commission's 1963 report, which had thrust the state a step forward by emphasizing technical education.

The Slaughter Commission, by acknowledging that its recommendation on technical colleges was not the best answer to Virginia's educational needs, not only left the door open for future study, but also provided a point of departure (the comprehensive community college concept). Furthermore, the Slaughter report kept the development of a satisfactory college system in the political arena (the commission was politically appointed and headed by a politician) and therefore made it quite natural for the 1964 General Assembly to recommend another commission to undertake a "comprehensive study and review of higher education." Had the Slaughter

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* From an address delivered by Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., to the state convention of the AFL-CIO.

Commission considered the two-year college issue closed, it is possible that the General Assembly would have gone along with its recommendation and excluded the two-year college from any subsequent study of higher education.

The Slaughter Commission also deserves credit for planting the idea of comprehensive community colleges in the minds of key educators in the state. Delegate W. Roy Smith, the original chairman of the Commission on Vocational Education (the Slaughter Commission), states that its members asked the presidents of The College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia, and Virginia Polytechnic Institute how they felt about the possibility of allowing their branches to join a comprehensive system of community colleges (88). While the presidents were obviously not yet ready to sever their ties with the branches, the conversations with the members of the commission surely planted the ideas that would later allow this severance to be partly accomplished. As will be shown, the president of one of the above institutions went on record as favoring a statewide system of public community colleges. Other voices were also raised in favor of moving beyond the technical and branch-college concepts.

One editor viewed the technical colleges as part of the program for meeting the "educational explosion" that had hit the state. He realized that the two-year branches were a help in meeting the educational needs, but he also visualized the merger of the technical schools and the branches into a single system of two-year colleges (27c).

One city official stated that the "chief reason for supporting a state plan for the creation of a two-year technical college in the area . . . is that it could become the nucleus for a community college offering liberal arts as well as science courses." The official went on to say that he hoped the college in his area would ultimately become accredited and offer the youngsters an opportunity for an associate degree at minimum cost (23b).

One editor, in his review of the Harrison administration, suggested that the development of the technical colleges "paved the way for the sensational prospect that a comprehensive system of two-year community colleges, combining technical and liberal arts courses, will be established in the near future." He believed that, when this was achieved, Virginia could look forward to improving its record of sending young people to college (27f).

Another writer saw the increase of post-high school education as "Virginia's Great Opportunity." He expressed the hope that the technical colleges would develop into "comprehensive community colleges." He wanted to see a number of two-year colleges throughout the state that would give the citizens a "well-rounded offering of courses, comprehending both the liberal arts and the humanities as well as scientific and technical disciplines" (27b).

Quite early, Senator Lloyd C. Bird went on record as favoring a tax-supported system of community colleges. He acknowledged that the public was demanding more education for more young people. Bird felt that Virginia had made only a start with its proposed system of technical colleges (28b). *

These observations demonstrate that the public was aware of education as an issue. They also demonstrate dissatisfaction with the existing approaches to meeting the post-high school needs of the citizens. There were other voices and other reasons for wanting to go down the comprehensive community college road instead of down several in attempting to meet these needs.

House Delegate W. Roy Smith, a member of the House since 1952, has served on several important committees on education and first headed the 1963 Slaughter Commission. He stated that he would not have been willing to go along with the branch and technical college approach: "It has been my own personal feeling from the outset that the two general types of education [should] be in one system." He saw the movement away from two distinct systems as an economical one, and felt that more students would take vocational and technical subjects if they could do so in a comprehensive college (88).

Governor Harrison was aware that not everything was being done that should be to meet the state's higher educational needs. By endorsing the Virginia Higher Education Study Commission (Bird Commission), which did its work during his administration, Governor Harrison showed that he was most willing to take a further look at what was happening. Commenting on the need for further study, he stated:

> It became perfectly obvious that we did not have the information and background necessary to do the job that had to be done. Of course, once we started the program with the community colleges [branch colleges] and the technical and vocational schools, it caught fire all over the state. There was potential for all, and every community saw what it would mean to the young men and women who wanted to go on and secure a higher education. We had to have a comprehensive study to point the direction we were going . . . (81).

Others were also concerned with the direction Virginia was taking. State Senator Lloyd C. Bird was concerned when he saw the state's post-high school educational institutions developing in three directions: the branch

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* Bird made these remarks prior to the publication of the report of the commission, of which he was chairman.

colleges, the branch college trying to serve the functions of a community college, and the technical college. He saw this situation as expensive and unsound. He voted yes on the proposals of the Slaughter Commission, but with reservations based on the fear that some people would be content to "settle for a system of technical schools" (77). *

Virginia Polytechnic Institute's President T. Marshall Hahn objected to the separate systems of branch colleges and technical colleges on philosophical grounds. While admitting that the dual system gave students both technical education and university-parallel curriculums, he noted that "the problem gets to be an intangible one and relates to the fact that there is considerable status and prestige associated with college enrollment." Hahn feared that, although the technical schools included the word "college" in their title, it was likely that technical education would be viewed as less desirable than that received at a branch college. "If there is a dual system, and one is essentially a second-class system or a blue-collar system, you will find that you do not get the potential enrollment in the technical colleges and the technical programs." As mentioned earlier, Hahn felt that the branches were too selective in their admission requirements. While realizing that Virginia Polytechnic Institute was in no way anxious to give up its branches, Hahn concluded that "without any question, the community colleges would be in the state's best interest" (79).

Former Delegate Kathryn H. Stone, a liberal Democrat from Arlington and an enthusiastic supporter of the movement for more technical education, also saw the need for more liberal arts offerings in the local areas. She was confident that, if Virginia could establish a good system of technical schools, the liberal arts would come later. She had given some study to the community college movement on the national scene and feared that Virginia, if it started with a comprehensive system, would give too much emphasis to the college-parallel side of the picture. In the final analysis, however, she saw the system of technical colleges as a stepping-stone to the comprehensive community college (89).

Carter O. Lowance, Executive Assistant to six Virginia governors, including Governor Godwin, concluded that the 1964 General Assembly recognized the need of more and more students for terminal programs rather than for four-year degrees. He felt that "the technical colleges were intended to meet the immediate need" (84) but, from the time the technical colleges were established, the idea for a comprehensive system of two-year colleges began to take form. Lowance maintained that the experience with the technical colleges opened up the possibilities of developing a broader curriculum. Their own technical college experience, coupled with the

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* Senator Paul Manns was also present at the interview. He concurred with Senator Bird.

experience of other states, showed Virginians "the merit of a community college system" (82). *

Dana B. Hamel, presently the Chancellor of the Virginia Community College System, was Director of Roanoke Technical Institute (a branch under V.P.I.) during the time the Slaughter Commission was conducting its investigation. At that time, Hamel expressed the belief that the state needed a comprehensive community college system. This, he felt, would avoid proliferation of buildings and waste of funds (80). His remarks take on added significance when one considers that Roanoke Technical Institute was located across the highway from a site to be used for the development of a University of Virginia Extension Center (64:60).

Delegate Slaughter, adding to what he had endorsed in his commission, noted that, if the system of technical colleges was left to stand alone, it would mean that the branches would also have to be continued. Moreover, the area vocational schools would have to be maintained to meet the needs of areas without technical schools. This meant that the state was developing three systems of post-high school education. Slaughter felt that "by utilizing the comprehensive community college, we [would be] able to have one system instead of three. You either had this alternative, one system or three, or a combination to make it two, or simply not get the job done." Slaughter saw the technical colleges as the skeleton on which the flesh of the community college system could be grown (87).

Had individuals in the various areas of the state carefully read the *Guide for the Establishment of Technical Colleges in Virginia*, they would have noted that it did not endorse a college within commuting distance of every individual. The *Guide* states:

> Although it would be desirable to locate a Technical College near every Virginia high school graduate who does not live within a reasonable commuting distance of an established public or private institution, it is not economically possible nor educationally feasible to do so. In the first place, the State cannot afford that many institutions; and in the second place, small institutions cannot offer the comprehensive curriculum that the very nature of the Technical College demands. Therefore, it is necessary to establish these institutions in areas containing enough potential students to insure a successful operation (43:13-14).

As suggested by various individuals, the comprehensive community college would have been more economical (for the state as a whole) than the continuation of the technical colleges and the other systems.

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* Lowance is no longer with the Governor's office.

Furthermore, the people in the state who did not get a technical college would surely have demanded some other form of post-high school education. The comprehensive community college system would make this possible, for it advocated a college within commuting distance of virtually every Virginian.

Mills E. Godwin, Jr., Lieutenant Governor under Harrison, was elected Governor in 1965. His first major policy address to the General Assembly (1966) outlined his plan for extending the base of higher education in the State. He first called for a state-wide sales tax that would allow the state to move toward the goal of offering every child in the state an opportunity for a quality education (42:4, 5). * It was worth noting that the governor, speaking of all education, saw it as involving the political, social, and economic segments of society.

Speaking directly on higher education, Governor Godwin asked whether the state could afford college for every Virginian who could benefit from attendance. He felt that the 1966-68 budget presented to the General Assembly would permit widening the base of higher education through the existing branch colleges and also that, by "counting on the almost incredible speed with which the Department of Technical Education has moved, you will have materially enlarged the opportunities for a specialized education in fields where jobs in industry are waiting." Even with the branches and the technical colleges, however, Godwin believed that post-high school education in the state would "have done well by the capable student in the upper half of his class in a large and well-endowed high school." The governor told the legislators that "[you] have a right to be proud of your accomplishments in these separate directions, but, realistically, they must be measured against Virginia's total needs, as intelligently as we can project them" (42:7). Certainly the words "separate directions" must be considered extremely significant in the governor's address for, as has been shown, various individuals in the state did not want two-year post-high school education to travel down several paths -- paths that led ultimately to one goal: a diversified program of post-high school education for virtually all citizens.

Godwin's proposal was the development of the state-wide system of community colleges. He viewed the comprehensive community college as "more than a decapitated four-year college. It is more than a merger of technical and two-year branch colleges in the interest of economy, although it embraces all of these concepts" (42:7). In defining just what Virginia's comprehensive community college was to be, if adopted as he advocated, Governor Godwin was taking a major step in expanding and democratizing

* Governor Harrison, in his final address to the Assembly, had called for a statewide sales tax similar to Godwin's (46c:10).

high school education. In his policy address (1966) to the General Assembly, the governor defined the comprehensive community college as follows:

> It is a varied and flexible institution, tailored to community needs and designed to serve every citizen within commuting distance.
>
> It offers universal admission to high school graduates, weighs their potential through extensive guidance and testing, and directs them to their proper field of study.
>
> It relieves the pressure on our four-year resident institutions at a fraction of their cost per student.
>
> It substitutes informed choice for the guesswork that so often selects a college for the high school graduate.
>
> It minimizes the heartache and provides new opportunity for the amazing number of four-year college freshmen who are unable to complete their first year, despite the best admission machinery.
>
> It offers a second chance to high school graduates who have been refused admittance to the college of their first choice, as well as to those who would have little chance of enrolling in any four-year college (42:7-8).

Godwin, recognizing the branch and technical colleges as important steps in higher education, expressed his belief that, through building on them, the legislators could insure that three-fourths of the college-age population could attend a comprehensive community college. Further, through using the proposed sales tax, the General Assembly could, in the next biennium, "provide college exposure for our high school graduates throughout the entire length and breadth of the state." He believed that "a system of true community colleges will blanket the education area between high school and the four-year college" (42:8). *

Governor Godwin, then, in his first major address on what he hoped to accomplish in his administration, gave a high priority to the development of a statewide system of comprehensive community colleges. He never lost sight of the fact that the technical colleges and branches of the major institutions provided the intermediate steps in his plan for comprehensive community colleges.

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* In the portion of his address dealing with the comprehensive community college, Godwin gave credit to the Virginia Higher Education Study Commission for influencing his thinking in this area of education. The 1965 Brumbaugh study was a part of the commission's final report.

In commenting on the steps Virginia had taken, Godwin contended that "while we have been thinking big, we have not been thinking big enough." He maintained that the technical colleges had started to meet the needs of the state, but that they met neither the needs of those students who wanted to gain entrance to four-year institutions nor the needs of industry for young men of executive ability (25f). Godwin believed that "as the technical colleges progressed, . . . educators found that the students wanted 'more than just technical skills' and that the new, sophisticated industries wanted well-rounded and fully-developed young technicians" (25e). To Governor Godwin, in the formative days of his administration, "thinking big" meant the establishment of a two-year system of comprehensive community colleges.

All evidence suggests that the development of the statewide system of community colleges in Virginia was indeed an evolutionary process; and certainly an evolution, like a revolution, demands leaders if it is to succeed. Key leaders had to make key decisions for the community colleges to come into being. Some of them have already been mentioned, but others were also instrumental in the process.

Governor Harrison deserves a great deal of credit for making possible the expanded base of post-high school education in the state; his administration covered the years of transition. The state was moving from a rural society into one with most of its population living in urban centers. Moreover, his emphasis on industrial development made it necessary for the state to recognize the need for more technicians. Senator Bird, while doubting that Harrison envisioned a comprehensive community college system, gives him credit for asking for the comprehensive study of higher education that was published in 1965.

Carter O. Lowance notes the importance of Harrison's administration in the formative years of the community college system (82). Dana Hamel also gives him credit for the development of the community colleges. He sees Harrison as the person who sowed the seeds that later burst forth as the comprehensive community colleges (80).

Perhaps Governor Harrison's greatest contribution to the development of a statewide system was that he was constantly looking ahead. He had the benefit of a comprehensive analysis of the need for technical education in the form of the Slaughter Commission's report. He had, in fact, secured legislation for establishing a system of technical colleges during his administration. It would have been easy, and it surely must have been tempting, for Governor Harrison to assume during his administration that the direction of post-high school education in Virginia had been settled, but he refused to rest on his laurels and proceeded to support a further study of higher education.

Another person more interested in higher education than laurels was Delegate D. French Slaughter. Slaughter had done well as the chairman of the Commission on Vocational Education. Even though he could have retired from the higher education scene and been proud of his accomplishments, he chose not to do so. He believed in his commission's recommendation concerning a statewide system of community colleges and, in the floor discussion of the Community College Bill, he "managed the Godwin bill" in the House of Delegates (26a). He was unselfish and untiring in his fight for the movement to democratize higher education in the state.

T. Marshall Hahn, President of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, gave impetus to the movement through his willingness to cooperate in the creation of the community colleges. Senator Bird was "pleasantly surprised" when Hahn offered his full cooperation in the establishment of the system of community colleges (77). Early in the debate over the community colleges, the V.P.I. Board of Visitors' executive committee supported the colleges. One editor declared that "we can be sure that Dr. Hahn had a strong hand in making the decision." The editor further stated that Hahn was "willing to look beyond his own campus and its needs and goals to the welfare and progress of the state as a whole" (29c). Had the president of the University of Virginia and The College of William and Mary publicly given the same support, it is conceivable that Hahn would be considered less of a key person in the movement.

Senator Lloyd C. Bird emerged as a leading force in the movement toward a statewide system of community colleges. In choosing Bird to head the Virginia Higher Education Study Commission that made its report in 1965, Governor Harrison had a sound basis for his choice, for he

> . . . regarded Bird as one of the most knowledgeable, interested and dedicated men we have in public service in Virginia. He is a person who has interested himself in anything that concerned the State of Virginia. He has been on the Southern Regional Education Board ever since it came into being; he probably knows as much of what is happening in the field of higher education as any nonprofessional educator in the State of Virginia. He had the interest and ability to do a job, and more than that, he was willing to undertake it and work at it day and night (81).

Delegate Slaughter feels that a large share of the credit should be given to Senator Lloyd C. Bird for the development of the community colleges (87). Others also mentioned Bird's key role in the development of the system. He was and is a respected member of the General Assembly and is still interested in higher education. His services were invaluable in the movement toward democratizing higher education in the state. Like other legislators, he was not content with the *status quo* and worked for change.

Governor Godwin must stand high among those who wanted a comprehensive community college system. He accepted the conclusions of the Virginia Higher Education Study Commission and made its recommendations an important part of his legislative program. Slaughter was "doubtful that we would have gotten this system when we did, without Governor Godwin's support. His support was indispensable. If he had not picked the thing up, I do not know where we would have been today" (87).

Governor Harrison magnanimously gave credit to his successor in office. In commenting on Godwin's contributions, he stated:

> I think Governor Godwin has done a tremendous job in marshalling sentiment for the community college system. The first two years of his administration were spent by him going all over the State selling the idea. It is all very fine to create something, but unless you can command universal support for it, then it could very well fail. Some say I created it [the community college system], but Governor Godwin has taken the ball and marshalled and solidified the support for this system (81).

T. Edward Temple (Director of the Division of State Planning and Community Affairs at the time he was interviewed, and earlier a member of the Bird Commission) declared that it took an all-out effort by Governor Godwin to bring about the development of the community colleges. "I would say that without the support of the Governor, if he had been less enthusiastic, the community college system would never have gotten off the ground" (91).

Dana B. Hamel feels that, although Governor Harrison "planted the seeds" for the community colleges, Governor Godwin cultivated them and made them grow (80).

One could point to other evidence of Godwin's key role in the development of the community college, but the foregoing is enough to show his willingness to put his administration on record early as favoring these institutions. Without his support, as others have pointed out, it is highly unlikely that the system of community colleges would have emerged when it did. Dana B. Hamel, a professional educator, became Director of Roanoke Technical Institute in 1963. In September 1964, he was appointed the first Director of the Department of Technical Education. On May 9, 1966,Governor Godwin named him head of the new system of community colleges to go into operation on July 1 of that year. From his arrival in the field of Virginia higher education, Hamel felt that the state should move toward a comprehensive system of community colleges. He told the Slaughter Commission this in 1963 (80). As Governor Godwin described

Hamel, his choice for the Directorship of the Department of Community Colleges, he "has a tremendously distinguished record in the liberal arts [and] is one who also now is making a tremendous record in technical education" (27n).

Delegate Slaughter described Hamel as instrumental in the development of a system of comprehensive community colleges. Speaking of Hamel, Slaughter says:

> He was enthusiastic toward the idea; he understood it and he understood how it should be operated and this was very important. You can imagine that if you had a director who was sold on technical education only, and opposed to the community college concept that a lot of people would have wondered about our recommendations. He is really a comprehensive man himself (87).

Like Harrison and Slaughter, Hamel was unwilling to settle for only a good system of technical colleges; he wanted a further look at two-year colleges in Virginia, a more comprehensive approach to post-high school education. Since he was a "comprehensive man," he played a major role in bringing about the comprehensive college.

The State Council of Higher Education deserves credit for helping to create this system. As pointed out earlier, the council went on record as favoring more diversity in two-year colleges. Under the directorship of Prince B. Woodard, it was responsible for selecting the professional staff for the Higher Education Study Commission that recommended the development of a statewide system of community colleges. This study was directed by John Dale Russell and included A. J. Brumbaugh and William J. McGlothlin in its staff. As coordinating agency for the commission's study, the State Council of Higher Education was important to its success.

The Virginia Higher Education Study Commission provided much of the documentation that convinced Governor Godwin and the legislators that their approach to post-high school education was not only feasible but also highly desirable. An especially important section in the commission's report was the one by A. J. Brumbaugh, dealing entirely with the two-year college in the state. Brumbaugh made recommendations on how the state should proceed in its future planning for the goal of a comprehensive system of community colleges (35:1-27). Prince B. Woodard gives the Higher Education Study Commission primary credit and responsibility for the establishment of the Virginia Community College System (93).

One influence on the development of the Virginia Community College System came from beyond the state's borders: the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB). Through its Commission on Goals for Higher

Education in the South, it recommended that each SREB member state develop a strong system of two-year community colleges. The commission expressed the belief that the "community college is economical for both students and taxpayers. It can be responsive to local needs and a vital force in the community" (62:6).

Senator Bird credits the SREB with first kindling his interest in the comprehensive community college movement. In fact, he suggests that one reason he was chosen to head the Virginia Higher Education Study Commission was his earlier membership in the SREB (77). Governor Harrison, when asked if the SREB influenced his thinking on the comprehensive two-year college, replied "Yes, without a doubt." He praised the SREB for providing professional staff to do studies throughout the South (81). *

Certainly those mentioned are not all the key people in the Virginia junior college movement. Eugene B. Sydnor, who served as chairman of the State Board of Technical Education and became the chairman of the State Board for Community Colleges, deserves credit for working to make the transition possible. The other four members ** who served on both boards also deserve credit for their advice and guidance during the transition period, as does, obviously, everyone else who served on the Slaughter and Bird Commissions. Yet all of them serve to demonstrate that the community college system was part of the evolution of higher education in the state. No one person here discussed, with the possible exceptions of Hamel and Hahn and some of the consultants, was a newcomer to the Virginia scene. Without the roots into the past, it is unlikely that Virginia would have taken the step that called not for a break with the past, but for progress toward the democratization of post-high school education in the state.

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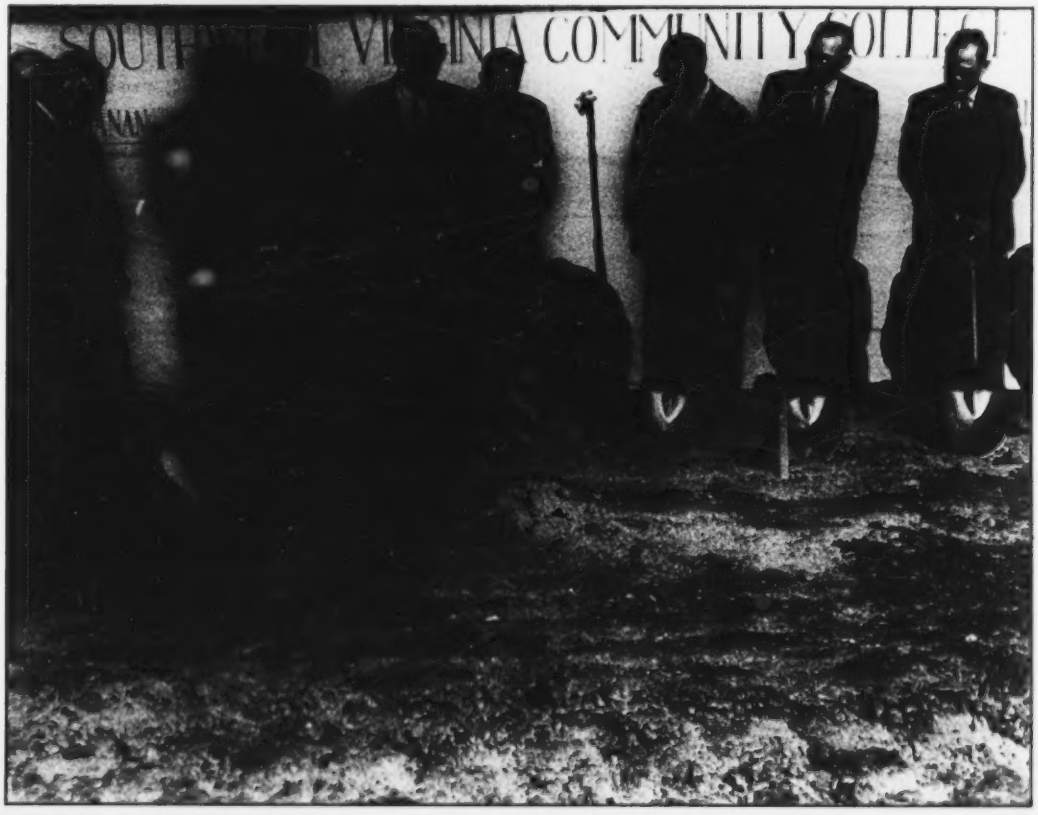
* Brumbaugh was a consultant for the SREB at the time he did the Virginia study.

** William P Kanto, S. E. Liles, Jr., Henry W. Tulloch, and Gordon C. Willis.


COMMUNITY

Part V

ACTION AND REACTION: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNITY COLLEGE SYSTEM

Just as the movement toward a statewide system of community colleges in Virginia was gradual and not a distinct break with the past, so the development of the colleges was a part of the movement toward the democratization of post-high school education in the state. The 1966 law creating the community college system was written to provide more opportunities for post-high school education for more Virginians. The people close to the scene, consultants, legislators, educators, and citizens, tended to support the democratization concept and to visualize a statewide system developed largely at the state's expense, rather than one developed as a wholly local project. As has been suggested, the community colleges were to be comprehensive, allowing the students a choice, a choice that for the most part was not provided in the branch and technical colleges.

The highly important Brumbaugh study (1965) had recommended that the community colleges be statewide, comprehensive, and publicly supported. It had also called for a single board to be responsible for their establishment and control. Brumbaugh emphasized that educational opportunities must be available to *all* Virginians who could profit from them (35:5-9).

The 1965 *Report of the Higher Education Study Commission to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia* (with which the Higher Education Study Commission and John Dale Russell, Director of the Study, concurred) recommended that

> . . . steps should be taken immediately to transfer the two-year branches of the state-controlled higher institutions, post-high school area-vocational school programs, and the two-year technical colleges, to the proposed State Board for Community Colleges. George Mason College and Christopher Newport College, both of which are well along toward being converted to four-year degree-granting institutions, should be held in their present status until there is a final decision about developing them as four-year institutions (64:27).

The attitudes toward the development of community colleges that would absorb many of the branches and technical schools were not, however, uniform. In fact, the legislative battle lines were distinct and a compromise had to be effected before the final community college bill passed the General Assembly.

The community college bill that reached the floor of the House and the Senate departed from the recommendations of the Virginia Higher Education Study Commission. The commission had excluded only two branches, George Mason in Northern Virginia, a branch of the University of Virginia, and Christopher Newport in Newport News, a branch of The College of William and Mary, but Governor Godwin found it expedient to exclude three other two-year branches from the bill he presented to the legislators. He excluded the university's branch in Wise, Virginia Polytechnic Institute's branch in Danville, and William and Mary's branch in Petersburg.

Godwin, who had agreed with the original findings of the Higher Education Study Commission, was a realist in the political arena. He remarked that he "would be happy if the General Assembly would approve the community college system with these three institutions in it" but, since this seemed unlikely, he admitted that "we are dealing here not with Utopia. Even with these three exemptions we have the basis for a fine community college system" (27h).

Even the exclusion of the additional three branches did not insure a smooth passage for the community college bill. In the House of Delegates, for example, George N. McMath of the Eastern Shore offered an amendment that would allow local option in deciding whether or not a branch college was to become a part of the community college system. McMath asked that each branch college named in the bill be allowed to "have the option to remain independent of the control and administration of the State Board for Community Colleges upon obtaining the consent of the governing body of the college or university of which such institution is a part . . ." (54b:306). Although the McMath amendment was rejected, the fight in the Senate was not over.

McMath's purpose in introducing the amendment was to keep the Eastern Shore branch under the control of the University of Virginia. He was not the only one to take this stand. Delegate A. L. Philpott, who was interested in the future of the university branch in his own district (Patrick Henry), stated that "we do not know whether we are relegating our children to educational mediocrity." Aware of the drawing power of the university, Philpott stated that "we believe the prestige of the University of Virginia is essential to get instructors" (28e). Like McMath, Philpott felt that the legislators should take a hard look at the feelings in each community before forcing a branch to become a member of the community college system (28e).

Philpott was not the only one to recognize the "drawing power" of being connected with a major university. The chairman of the Wytheville Community College's board (a branch of Virginia Polytechnic Institute) opposed putting all Virginia's two-year colleges under one central board. He used the argument that the V.P.I. name helped the school recruit better faculty (28d). Sherman P. Dutton, Director of the Patrick Henry branch of the University of Virginia, also felt that, if Patrick Henry were no longer connected with the University, he would have a more difficult time recruiting faculty, especially out-of-state faculty members (78).

Other delegates raised the question of whether the new community colleges could receive accreditation. In answer, Delegate Slaughter, who was guiding the bill through the House, assured them that "there is absolutely no problem as far as accreditation is concerned." He based his statement on the belief that the colleges would be well financed and that thus "quality education" would be insured (78). The Godwin bill passed the House by a vote of ninety-four to zero (54b:306). * The House fight was minor, but the bill did not pass unscathed in the Senate.

The Governor, while realizing that the exclusion of the three branches, Clinch Valley at Wise, Richard Bland College at Petersburg, and Danville Community College, was "a compromise to see his plan through" (27i), perhaps did not see the immediate reaction to his compromise plan. It was anticipated that George Mason would become a four-year institution (since the Higher Education Study Commission had recommended one for the Northern Virginia area), but it was not so clear that the university's branch in Wise would seek four-year status. (The commission recommended that it become a part of the community college system.) However, an amendment added to the bill calling for George Mason to assume four-year status also called for Clinch Valley College in Wise to become a four-year college. The original bill and the amendment passed without major opposition, but there was a movement in the Senate to exclude both the Eastern Shore and Patrick Henry branches of the university from the community college system.

The fight in the Senate was let by Senators William F. Stone of Martinsville and E. Almer Ames of the Eastern Shore. Stone made it clear that he wanted the bill amended to exclude Patrick Henry from the community college system. "I'm utterly amazed at the exemption of some colleges and the inclusion of others," he told newsmen. He insisted that "we [Patrick Henry] want to remain a part of a prestige institution" (29d). In an interview, he remarked that "our people feel very definitely that they like the prestige that goes with . . . the University's umbrella. The University of

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* Philpott and McMath abstained from the voting. Four other members were not present for the voting, but they have expressed no opposition to the community college bill.

Virginia has already had its accreditation assured for the next ten years and, needless to say, we come under it" (90).

While insisting that he was not opposed to the community college system, Stone still felt strongly that local option should prevail in deciding which schools should join the system.

> I think the State has a moral, even a legal obligation, to let us remain a part of the University of Virginia because we came along before the community college system and we want to stay under their accreditation umbrella. If the time comes when the community college system has the same kind of accreditation that our school has by reason of its connections with the University of Virginia, then I would not be adverse to the idea of our joining the system with the exception that I do not want Patrick Henry College to ever become a technical school. No, I am not against the community college program. I do object to the way it was handled. They did not ask us if we wanted to become a part of the community college program. They did, in effect, tell us we had to be. Nobody wants to be told what he has to do and for that reason Senator Ames and myself got enough votes to prevent it and we effected a compromise (90).

Stone also pointed out that local citizens and the area governments had put their own financial resources into the development of Patrick Henry.

Senator Ames was just as adamant as Stone. After the Godwin bill passed the House, Ames remarked that "we haven't given up yet" in the fight to have local option determine the fate of the branch colleges (28f). Besides the accreditation issue raised by Stone, Ames feared that, under the community college system, the Eastern Shore branch would lose its financial support and its ties with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (28f), which has an important installation on the Eastern Shore's Wallops Island. (Delegate McMath had expressed the same fears concerning NASA.)

One editorial suggested that while "pleas for [the branches] remaining under the aegis of the University were quite properly rejected in the House of Delegates, . . . the Governor has been reluctant to force the issue in the Senate, presumably because of the influence enjoyed by Sen. William Stone of Martinsville and Sen. Almer Ames of Onancock" (28h). Stone and Ames, however, did force the issue and got results. They effected a compromise that provided a delaying action for moving the branches in their areas into the community college system. The community college law, as enacted by the General Assembly, stated that:

> . . . no such transfer shall take place with respect to any individual institution specified in the next preceding paragraph [which included the Eastern Shore and Martinsville branches] until the Advisory Committee on Community Colleges certifies to the State Board and the Governor that such individual institution has demonstrated the requirements necessary for accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (32b:1139).

The compromise amendment was effected after a three-hour meeting in the governor's office. In attendance at the meeting were the presidents of the University of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and William and Mary (28i). Governor Godwin stated that the amendment was "drawn to strengthen the bill and give reassurance to the communities concerned that they will continue to have quality programs of education" when their branches become a part of the community college system (26c). Nevertheless, as one writer suggested, "the amendment represents at least a partial victory for Sen. William F. Stone of Martinsville and Sen. Almer Ames of the Eastern Shore . . ." (28i). This is shown by the fact that both Ames and Stone, who had vigorously opposed the inclusion of the branches in their areas, agreed to the changes (27j) and the community college bill passed the Senate by a unanimous vote. The House gave its approval to the amendment by a vote of eighty-two to zero, including "yeas" by McMath and Philpott (54b:1114).

The compromise led the chairman of the local board of Patrick Henry to remark that "we have every reason to believe that our ties with the university will remain until 1969. Even then we are not anxious to break away" (29j). The chairman saw little change being forced on Patrick Henry: "I see no reason why our financial dominoes cannot fall into place as envisioned prior to the time that the community college concept arose" (28j).

Furthermore, the compromise allowed time for the Eastern Shore Branch to pursue its attempt to be excluded from the community college system. During the General Assembly session, McMath had pointed out that the federal government had given the university a gift of land and a $380,000 development grant, on condition that the university operate a branch college on it. Under the Community College Act, parent institutions were to deed to the state the property of the branches to be brought into the community college system. If the Eastern Shore branch went into the community college it might be breaking its agreement with the federal government (30d).

Was the compromise on the accreditation issue necessary? One editor, suggesting that the entire community college plan was in danger unless the governor intervened, felt that the system of community colleges was vital to the state. He also felt that it was going to fail because of the following:

> Provincial politics has reared its ugly head in the Virginia General Assembly, with the result that the all-important comprehensive system of community colleges envisioned for Virginia is in danger of being wrecked. It is high time for GOVERNOR GODWIN to exert his leadership in this matter of which he is capable (27g).

Another editor raised the question, "What Kind of Community College?" He wanted to know the status of the new community colleges in transfer and accreditation.

> Before Virginia embarks on a spending program for this new concept in colleges, and, even more important, before it lumps its present proven branch colleges with the new creatures, these are questions [transfer and accreditation status] that should be raised and answered (30a).

The amended bill, then, assuaged the fears of that editor through guaranteeing that the branches would be eligible for accreditation and the students for transfer.

T. Marshall Hahn felt that the compromise amendment "strengthens what is already a good bill" (28j). He, like the governor, obviously wanted to see a community college system created.

Another editor observed that, "despite the complications, we are convinced that a statewide system of coordinated community colleges is in the best interest of the state and its people" (29g). One complication had been getting the community college bill through the Senate; the amendment expedited this action.

Some segments of the public reacted against the exclusion of certain branches from the community college system. One editorial stated that the governor, through allowing some branches to stay out of the system, and "perhaps only succeeded in inviting collapse of the entire plan" (28c). This view was endorsed by an important Richmond newspaper, which reprinted the entire article on its own editorial page. * Another editor chided the General Assembly for its "irresponsible action" in deciding which branches should be included in the system and which should not, and wanted the General Assembly to follow the recommendations of the Higher Education Study Commission. Unless it did, the writer believed, "Virginia's high hopes for a genuine statewide system of community colleges will be dashed to pieces on the rocks of politics and sectionalism" (29e). While admitting that, in its view, the legislation establishing a system of community colleges was

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* The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reprinted the entire editorial in its February 8, 1966, issue.

"short of being ideal," the same paper nevertheless felt that the "way at least is paved for establishment of an excellent community college system" (29i).

Although the compromise amendment was apparently necessary to bring enough branches into the community college system to provide a solid base for its development under one board, one writer noted that, "If further exceptions are made, . . . the whole scheme for a unified and coordinated higher education system will be wrecked" (29f). The fact that the compromise amendment was added indicates that the bill was in trouble; the fact that Stone and Ames agreed to it indicates that the amendment allowed the bill to move quickly. Governor Godwin frankly stated that his original community college bill was not utopian (27h), and one can readily see that the General Assembly in 1966 was no Utopia in which to present a bill. It was rather a legislative body of free men expressing what they considered to be the wishes of their constituents. In such a situation, compromise is not only expedient, but also necessary, if the legislative process is to function in open debate.

The community college also received some opposition from the vocational-technical schools, which, although they did not receive as much attention in the General Assembly as the branches did, had their own advocates at the local levels. Augusta County officials, for instance, wondered what effect the new community colleges would have on the vocational-technical school in their area. The consensus was that county government and school officials "would not look kindly at any move to transfer the control" of the area school to Richmond (23c).

Stiffer opposition was voiced by officials at the New River Vocational-Technical School in Radford, who said they "would fight to avoid being taken over by the community college board" (28g). The director of the Radford institution, aware that the community college board was going to take over only post-high school vocational-technical education, stated that "it may be necessary to abandon post-high school and adult classes at Vo-Tech to avoid being taken over by the community college board." The director feared that the community colleges would raise the level of vocational-technical education to such a degree that it would deny many students entrance to the college (28g). The post-high school curriculums of the area vocational schools were indeed to be absorbed by the community colleges and provide the basis for many of their occupational-technical programs.

On April 6, 1966, the General Assembly repealed those sections of the Code of Virginia that had created the Department of Technical Education and the State Board of Technical Education. In their place, the legislators created a Department of Community Colleges and a State Board for Community Colleges. The colleges, as members of the Department of Community Colleges, were to be comprehensive. The law defined a comprehensive community college as follows:

'Comprehensive Community College' means an institution of higher education which offers instruction in one or more of the following fields:

(1) Freshman and sophomore courses in arts and sciences acceptable for transfer in baccalaureate degree programs,

(2) diversified technical curricula including programs leading to the associate degree,

(3) vocational and technical education leading directly to employment,

(4) courses in general and continuing education for adults in the above fields.

The State Board for Community Colleges was given the authority to "promulgate necessary rules and regulations" for carrying out the purposes of the comprehensive community colleges. The board was to determine the need for their establishment and to draw up a statewide master plan for their location and schedule of development.

The law provided for the transfer of seven of the branch colleges and all post-high school programs of the area vocational and technical schools to the System of Community Colleges. The vocational and technical schools were to come into the system on July 1, 1966. The branches were scheduled to come in on July 1, 1967, but could enter the system earlier if the State Board for Community Colleges and the governing board of the college or university of which the branch was a part so agreed.

The law creating the community college system established the office of Director of Community Colleges. He was to work with the board in carrying out the procedures necessary to implement the policies and rules for the operation of the system (32b:1136-41).

On September 28, 1966, the State Board for Community Colleges adopted *Policies, Procedures, and Regulations* for the system, and defined a community college as

> . . . a comprehensive institution of higher education offering programs of instruction generally extending not more than two years beyond the high school level, which shall include, but not be limited to, courses in occupational and technical fields, the liberal arts and sciences, general education, continuing adult education, pre-college and pre-technical preparatory programs, special training programs to meet the economic needs of the region in which the college is located, and other services to meet the cultural and educational needs of this region (57).

The board broadened its definition of a community college to include pre-college and pre-technical work and special training programs to meet the needs of industry, with the full intention of providing a system of comprehensive community colleges for the state.

This same board was to be responsible for determining tuition and fees. (The tuition cost to students, while not spelled out in the first edition of *Policies*, was set at forty-five dollars per quarter for full-time Virginia students.) *

In January 1967, a proposed master plan for the statewide system of community colleges was published. The plan, prepared under the direction of consultant Eric Rhodes, called for the establishment of twenty-two community colleges across the state. This would put one within commuting distance of every citizen in the state. In areas with large populations and in some rural areas, the Rhodes Study called for multi-campus community colleges (59). **

The definition of a comprehensive community college as set forth by the law creating the system and as defined by the State Board for Community Colleges recognized the need for a diverse program. The Rhodes and Brumbaugh studies, in recommending that a community college be within commuting distance of every citizen, acknowledged the fact that all Virginians (even those living in areas such as Charlottesville, the home of the University of Virginia) could profit from the diverse offerings of the comprehensive community college. The two conditions combined, the broad definition and a college within commuting distance of all citizens, provided a greater number of Virginians with a chance to go to college and made the democratization of higher education more feasible than it had ever been before. Strangely, though, the reactions to this statewide system were mixed.

One major feature of the new system of community colleges was that, if developed according to the master plan, they were to be located in every area of the state. The law establishing the colleges stated that they were to be controlled by the State Board for Community Colleges. This writer asked a number of people close to the community college scene if they accepted the idea of a statewide system of community colleges under the central control of one board.

T. Edward Temple, whose primary responsibility as Director of State Planning and Community Affairs is to plan for the entire state, stated that the Higher Education Study Commission (of which he was a member) never

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* At the present time, tuition costs are sixty dollars per quarter for full-time Virginia students.

** The master plan was, for the most part, accepted as recommended by Rhodes.

seriously considered recommending any other plan. Temple had grave doubts whether many areas in the state could effectively develop a community college without state aid. Furthermore, he sees the State Board for Community Colleges as necessary for the development of a uniform system. (He used the word "uniform" to indicate that certain features were common to all colleges, rather than that all colleges should be alike.) Speaking of the democratization potential of the community colleges, Temple was "wholly in accord with the concept that there would be a community college within commuting distance of every single boy and girl in the state of Virginia" (91).

Prince Woodard also subscribed to a statewide system of community colleges, believing that a college not only can bring industry to a region, but also create a demand for a more diverse program at the college. Woodard supports a system under one general board, but feels that local boards should also exercise a certain degree of control in their respective areas (93).

Delegate Kathryn Stone, echoing sentiments similar to those of Baker Brownell (4), saw a statewide system as a means of preventing the "population drain" from certain rural counties. This population loss, Stone maintained, was more than just a loss of numbers; it was the loss of leadership potential (89).

Dana Hamel, from his knowledge in the field of higher education, realized that the national trend was toward statewide systems of community colleges. He was also aware that, from a political, social, and economic point of view, it was desirable to provide post-high school education for the whole state. Hamel, who sees the community college as a major step toward democratization of higher education, feels that a statewide system, receiving most of its support from state funds, is absolutely necessary if the poorer sections of the state are to have an equal opportunity to get an education (80).

Delegate D. French Slaughter, when asked if he felt the state should develop all the colleges called for in the master plan, replied that he felt "very strongly that we should go with the twenty-two colleges of the system which would enable us to place a college within commuting distance of every community in the state. This is one of the really indispensable ideas behind the community college system" (87). * In commenting on the fact that the State Department and State Board were to exercise central control over the system, Slaughter observed that the system should have a great deal of flexibility. "In Lee, Scott, and Wise [highly rural counties], for example, if the demand is for transfer students and you do not have a single demand for a

* One member of the Slaughter Commission, Curry Carter, wanted to keep the State Board of Education as the controlling board for the technical colleges. Carter primarily feared a proliferation of state agencies.

technical course, then this is all right; we should offer what the students need in the region." Slaughter, who was past Vice-Chairman of Public Education, did not consider recommending that the technical or community colleges be placed under the Board of Public Education. He felt a separate board was needed to strengthen the point that the community colleges were to be higher, not secondary, education (87).

The issue of whether or not the statewide system was best for Virginia was not always clear-cut. W. Roy Smith favored it in the beginning, but felt that the concept of a "system" got off the track when institutions began competing with one another. Delegate Smith, who represented the area of Richard Bland College, a division of William and Mary, felt that the system approach was destroyed when the decision was made to locate John Tyler Technical College (later John Tyler Community College) within commuting distance of Richard Bland College, for this competition, Smith maintained, hurt the statewide philosophy. He did, however, strongly favor a separate board for the community colleges (88).

Governor Harrison, who accepted the recommendation for twenty-two colleges (or more if the need arose), thought the localities should provide more capital outlay. Although he felt that everyone would want a community college if the state were to pay the bill, he also believed that, if the localities were to furnish the land and the buildings, the growth would be more orderly and the college more a part of the community. He acknowledged the further likelihood that some localities, unable to provide local funds, would be deprived of a community college. Thus, he asserted, need should be the primary criterion for establishing a community college. "Need" meant that the college's "location will justify the expenditures by the State." Harrison was in complete agreement that surveys should be used to determine where the colleges should be located: "I don't think any college should be located in an area simply because some politically important person or group wants one" (81).

One writer called the system the "egalitarianism of higher education" and felt that "a broadened, or democratic, concept of collegiate education is a new departure for Virginia" (27k). Another editorial called the community colleges "an important milestone on the road to adequate development of Virginians to go on to post-high school education" (27m). The fact that more students could get more education was called both a "boon and a burden" by T. Marshall Hahn. He believed the system was badly needed, but cautioned that, by giving more students the opportunity to go to college, later enrollments at the already crowded four-year institutions would substantially increase (26b).

A feature writer entitled one of her articles "Community Colleges Called Boon to Women." It was written in response to a speech by Governor Godwin in which he told the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs that the

new community college system should encourage more women to enter or reenter professions for which there was a shortage of practitioners in the state. The governor held out the colleges as a way to alleviate the loneliness that women often suffer after their children are in school or are grown (27l).

Virginia's Superintendent of Public Instruction stated that the system was needed to avoid duplication in the field of vocational education. He maintained that "obviously there had to be some coordinating body" (27p). This endorsement was needed if the system was effectively to take over all post-high school vocational education.

One member of the House of Delegates (Willis Anderson, Roanoke) used the development of the community college system as a point of departure in arguing for lower tuition rates at all state-supported institutions of higher education (29k). Another delegate (J. Warren White) proposed "that consideration be given to dropping the tuition charge for in-state students" (22). One editor, who basically agreed with the proposal to eliminate fees, referred to the Virginia plan as its "Pay-as-You-Go-to-College" plan (30f). Another simply pleaded that the fees be standardized at all the community colleges (29l). *

Perhaps the strongest criticism of the low fee structure at the community college came from Delegate W. Roy Smith, who wanted to know why students going to a branch college or any other state-supported institution should be charged more than someone attending a community college. Smith believed that the state should not use too many of its resources in one area of development and thereby reduce its ability to do what was needed in others (88). His stand at first appears reasonable, but, since Virginia was a "high tuition" state, raising fees at the community colleges to equal those at other state-supported institutions would be inconsistent with the community college philosophy of making education available to those who previously could not afford it.

Several writers saw the potential of the comprehensive community college for boosting industrial development. One editorial remarked on the "high degree of optimism over locating on the Peninsula one of the Commonwealth's projected new two-year colleges that will train technicians . . ." (20). The Director of Industrial Development, in one of his final speeches before retiring, claimed that some sections of the state "have nothing to sell but a strong back." He did, however, praise current efforts at providing education for technicians (26f). **

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* At first, it appeared as if Roanoke's community college would have a higher fee structure than the one in Northern Virginia; this, however, was not the case. Both colleges had tuition charges of $45 a quarter for full-time Virginia students.

** Earlier, the Director had promised that the system of community colleges would offer a "heavy technical program" (30b).

Governor Godwin, the first Virginia governor to address a meeting of the state AFL-CIO convention, told the labor leaders of the benefits that would befall labor with the establishment of the community colleges (26g). It is significant that he discussed this point with labor leaders. The obvious implication, that labor could now look toward a system of post-high school education to serve its needs on a statewide basis, was in itself, a new concept.

Godwin, addressing the other side of the labor-management picture, also told some two hundred industrial development leaders that industry itself had provided the incentive for developing the system of comprehensive community colleges (26e). Clearly the governor saw the community college as a common meeting ground beneficial to both labor and management.

One editor saw the Special Training Programs Division of the State Department of Community Colleges as an important new approach for training workers in the state. The editor stated:

> So effective has the plan been deemed by General Electric that the company decided to expand its Portsmouth investment of $6 million by $10 million more. This involved the transfer of its entire production of color portable TV sets from Syracuse, N. Y. to Portsmouth.

He concluded that the Special Training Program "is one significant facet of Virginia's establishment of a system of community colleges" (27q).

The reactions to the community college were philosophical as well as practical. The reaction of Senator Stone was philosophically negative. He maintained that he "had no quarrel with the community colleges," but maintained that "you cannot have people learning to operate lathes and all those technical things right along with a good academic setup. You have got to have them divided" (90). Certainly, then, his opposition went much deeper than the fear (as expressed earlier in this study) that the colleges could not become accredited. Interestingly, Sherman Dutton, the Director of the University's branch in Stone's senatorial district, did not object on philosophical grounds. Speaking of teaching technical and academic subjects in the same building, Dutton pointed out that "the development of comprehensive community colleges in other states will bear out that this can and has been done" (78).

This writer talked to a student who had completed a two-year certificate program at a branch of V.P.I. and his first year in an associate-degree program at the same institution after it had joined the community college system. Asked about his first reaction to the news that the branch was going to join the system, he replied, "I was dismayed . . . that we would lose the quality of the teachers we had while under V.P.I." He admitted, however, that his fears were unfounded and added that the new system was "the

greatest thing that has happened to higher education in the state of Virginia." He felt it gave most Virginians an opportunity to get some form of higher education (86).

In 1964, Virginia had twelve privately controlled two-year institutions of higher education. Some of these just happened to be located in Virginia and did not serve their locality. Seven were solely for women students. Only one (the Apprentice School for Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company) was for men only and offered any extensive vocational training. Of the seven women's colleges, five admitted less than thirty-one percent of their students from Virginia. The coeducational institutions and the one male institution all got more than half their students from the state. While over fifty-six percent of all students in privately controlled two-year colleges came from Virginia, less than twenty percent came from the local college area (35:46-50). Few of the private two-year colleges were serving the area where they were located. This, of course, was to be the main point of the community colleges.

T. Edward Temple, a member of the board of trustees of Ferrum Junior College (a coeducational two-year college) saw absolutely no conflict between what Ferrum, a church-related college, and the new system were trying to do. Temple, expressing the views of the board, believed that "one was needed to complement the other" (91). Ferrum's new dean, previously dean at a public junior college in Florida, predicted success for the community colleges in Virginia (28l). While Ferrum did not see itself as being affected by the new system, not all the other private colleges reacted the same way.

The now defunct Marion College, a two-year church-related junior college, made overtures to Dana Hamel regarding its becoming a site for a state-supported community college in the new system, but was told that, since Wytheville had a community college and since one was planned for Washington County, the possibility of Marion's getting one was non-existent (75:2). Marion College found itself

> . . . faced with the biggest crisis of its history. Church relationship was in serious trouble again. Economic pressures were making it impossible to pursue accreditation. Compounding the problem was the advent of the Virginia Community College System in 1965 *[sic]*. The state plan called for a community college to be placed to the east and west sides of Marion within twenty-five miles of the institution. Although Marion had been drawing from a wide geographic area for the past twenty years, it was still heavily dependent

upon the state and area for fifty percent of its student body (75:17). *

The coming of the comprehensive colleges hastened the demise of Marion College. Certainly it had other troubles, but the new system bolstered the decision to close the college.

Instead of closing, Averett College in Danville decided to become a four-year institution and to admit males as day-students. The president of the college stated that the coming of the community college system definitely influenced its decision. It intended to supplement the new colleges rather than to compete with them (76).

In contrast to Averett, Stratford College, also in Danville, decided to become a four-year institution, but was not influenced by the coming of the publicly supported colleges. The president stated that because Stratford was almost entirely residential and because only about one-fourth of its students came from Virginia, the new system would have little or no effect on his problem. He also pointed out that the economic and social status of Stratford's students made it unlikely that they would normally attend a community college (84).

A survey of every private two-year college in the state is not necessary to deduce that the community college affected some and not others, depending on whether they competed for the same type of student in the local area. If the private college aimed for the out-of-state area of high economic and social status, the community college would be no great threat.

Did the 1966 General Assembly bring the evolution of public education to a suitable climax? In commenting on that year's assembly, one source stated that, while Virginia still lagged behind many other states in its educational system, "it is not too late to remedy out education deficiencies, but it might have been too late, if Governor Godwin and the General Assembly of 1966 had not moved massively to correct existing shortcomings" (27o). Senator James D. Hagood, Virginia's senior senator and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, felt that the more progressive attitude of the 1966 General Assembly was due to "demands from the people . . . [for] more services and better educational facilities." He believed that the governor's community college program would go a long way toward improving conditions at the colleges and universities (25b).

Another comment on the 1966 session called it a "Momentous Legislative Session," stating that "provisions for the state's system of two-year junior

* This and all subsequent information on Marion College (which ceased operation in 1967) is from a yet unpublished history of Marion College by Thomas W. West, former president of the college.

colleges, for both liberal arts and technical instruction, may be the most notable single educational advance . . ." (25c).

Finally, this 1966 session moved one writer to venture "the hope that this . . . marks the beginning of Virginia's move into the mainstream of the nation." Speaking of higher education, the writer added that "the new program of community colleges . . . will launch the Commonwealth on a catch-up course" (26d).

Certainly Virginians were aware that the 1966 session was different. It was different in four ways: (1) it decided to commit the state to the concept that the majority of Virginians should have a chance at some type of post-high school education; (2) it provided the means for this change by providing a system of comprehensive community colleges that recognized the unique talents of more students than in the state's past; (3) it made a strong attempt, with a measurable amount of success, to bring all post-high school, two-year educational programs into one coordinated system; and (4) it recognized the needs and wishes of the people and of labor and industry for the means to meet the economic, social, and (to a degree) political aspirations of its citizens. The 1966 session's greatest difference was the creation of a statewide network of publicly supported comprehensive community colleges. While the evolutionary process of democratizing post-high school education continues in Virginia, the creation of the community college system by the 1966 General Assembly may be considered a major milestone.

Part VI

A FINAL WORD

In the fall of 1966, the two units of the community college system in operation were Northern Virginia Community College and Virginia Western Community College in Roanoke, with an enrollment of 3,578 students. By the fall of 1970, a total of 27,840 students were enrolled in the sixteen colleges presently comprising the system. In addition to those now in operation, three are scheduled to open during the next biennium. All evidence supports the state's intention to complete the twenty-two colleges called for in the state master plan. When this is accomplished, every citizen in the state will have a college within commuting distance and, if the colleges continue to be comprehensive, the state will indeed have done much to democratize the post-high school education of its citizens.

The present study has attempted to show that this broadened base of higher education was accomplished through an evolutionary process and to show that certain people in the state advocated some sort of broadening long before the actual development of the community colleges. An obvious question is why it took so long for the state to reach its present level in the extension of its post-high school education opportunities.

One must point to the leadership in the movement to extend higher education in the state if one is to understand why the community colleges emerged. It is also necessary to consider that, while the 1966 sales tax provided needed revenue, it was, after all, simply another manifestation of this leadership in action. In addition, one must realize that industry, if it were to locate in Virginia, would require and expect a local supply of educated personnel. This was another role played by the state's political and industrial leadership. Certainly the people wanted more services in 1966 than they had in earlier years, including more post-high school education. All these factors obviously influenced the development of the community college system and, although they had long been present in varying degrees, the community college system did not emerge until the 1966 session of the General Assembly.

In the opinion of S. V. Martorana, it was "impossible, practically, to help Virginia leap into the future completely in one step. . . ." * He maintains that,

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* Telephone interview with Martorana. Martorana felt that the late 1950s saw the peak of a transition period, a peak that should have allowed the state to broaden substantially its post-high school educational offerings. That the Martorana plan failed to achieve its goals (see part three of this study) indicates that the state was not then ready for the transition to a statewide system of comprehensive two-year colleges.

before Virginia could move into anything as major as a statewide system of community colleges, a transition had to be made from the previously established traditions.

Dana B. Hamel, a relative newcomer to Virginia, sensed this intangible factor that operates in tradition-rich (and often tradition-bound) Virginia. He remarked in July 1968 (after being in the state less than five years):

> In Virginia we have to move in cycles that are acceptable to the people. The people were ready for technical education so we got the technical education program going, and in the meantime the people then became ready for the next step and so it has taken the leadership and sharpness of both governors [Harrison and Godwin] to see when the people were ready and to move and strike while the iron was hot, so to speak (80).

In a personal interview, T. Edward Temple was fully aware that some people feared that the community college system was developing too rapidly. Others, of course, felt that it was moving too slowly. He remarked that his "personal opinion is that we have moved at a rate consistent with the rate Virginia is geared to move. I do not think we could have moved much faster, because it involved a complete change in philosophy" (91).

Carter O. Lowance, who had been close to the governor's office longer than perhaps any other single Virginian and who knew how the political structure in the state operated, expressed the belief that the coming of the community college system has been "an evolutionary development dating back a number of years." He added that the need for more higher education

> . . . has taken a gradual evolution of emphasis to the point where it is now universally recognized. We had to do more in the field of higher education in order to accommodate the changes in our whole social structure, our economy, and government itself, because, broadly speaking, a high school education twenty years ago might have been the equivalent of a college education today. I think again that it was a process that was inevitable and gradual (82).

Both W. Roy Smith and D. French Slaughter were also aware that Virginia could not be pushed too rapidly, that it was necessary for the state to move through the technical college "phase" before moving on to the comprehensive community college. They felt that it was too much to expect the legislators to approve a wholly new system in one giant step. The approach they recommended, what appears to be the "Virginia approach," was to move one step at a time in extending post-high school education (87, 88).

Governor Harrison also remarked that things do not "just happen" in his native state. In speaking of the proper timing (whether in politics or in education, which are often the same), he stated:

> You will find that you always have to maintain a delicate balance between the ability and willingness of the people to pay for public services and the need and necessity of providing those services. You have the people who pay for services on the one side, and you have the obligations of the State to provide facilities and services on the other. It is up to the governor, and the General Assembly, to maintain that balance, because if you move too far too fast and too recklessly or extravagantly, then you will find rebellion on the part of the taxpayer. Therefore, you must have public sentiment and support with you. At the same time, if the governor and legislators fail to provide what the public has a right to demand, then you will find the people will elect officials who will provide these services. It is not easy to maintain that balance . . . (81).

The balance was obviously right for the creation of the system of community colleges in 1966.

Some of the foregoing statements regarding Virginia's evolutionary approach to extending its higher education came from politicians who had, in part, been responsible for the failure of the state to move any faster than it had in this direction. Perhaps the process could have been accelerated if certain people in the state had been more willing to work toward making statewide post-high school education available. Although the need was certainly documented by the Martorana study in 1959, no major political figure came forth at that time to support it.

Many key figures in the development of the community college system point out that in Virginia things happen gradually and in an evolutionary fashion. Is Virginia unique in this respect? Since this study is not comparing Virginia with any other state, the answer must be limited to some remarks concerning the Virginia situation. The state used two other common methods of offering post-high school education to the youth of the state before deciding to combine them in a comprehensive community college system, namely, branch colleges and technical colleges. Virginia has been, until recently, unique in its political situation. It has had no "political revolutions" with one party being replaced by another; nor has it had any political changeover in the governor's chair. In 1926, Harry F. Byrd was elected governor of Virginia. It is generally conceded that his organization or "machine" dominated the state Democratic Party and the election of governors through the election of 1965. Most progress during those years was made through the accepted channels of the state Democratic Party.

Moreover, since none of the key political figures in this study chose to challenge the evolutionary process of Virginia's politics, one can conclude that the situation encouraged a cautious approach to any problem-solving, even more education for the state's youth.

Virginia is also unique in its strong emphasis on the past. In a recent speech in historic Williamsburg, Governor Godwin went far back in Virginia history to find a philosophical base for the community college system. He said that the present-day community colleges "are in accord with Jefferson's belief that freedom cannot survive in the midst of ignorance and that higher education, therefore, cannot only be for those who were born to it or who can afford it" (28n). Godwin's statement supports the thesis that Virginia has now reached the stage in its development where education is no longer for those "who were born to it or who can afford it." Education in Virginia today is for the many because, by 1966, the thinking of Virginians had evolved to where they recognized not only the need for a broader base of higher education, but also the means of achieving this base. The means was a statewide system of state-supported comprehensive community colleges to democratize post-high school education for the citizens of the state of Virginia.

From the left: Chancellor Emeritus Dana B. Hamel, Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., and Governor Albertis S. Harrison, Jr., at the System's 20th Anniversary Celebration.

AN OVERVIEW

OF THE SYSTEM IN 1987

DON PUYEAR

Introduction

Vaughan's masterful history of the development of the system ended with the proposed master plan of 1967. This overview discusses how issues highlighted in Vaughan's study were resolved and how the system has developed. Matters receiving special attention in 1987 are then discussed.

Organization of the VCCS

The original legislation clearly spelled out a statewide system of comprehensive community colleges. The State Board for Community Colleges was designated as the governing board for all of the colleges in the system, and the Director of the State Department of Community Colleges was to be the chief executive officer. A number of ambiguities remained, but were resolved in the early years of the system. These include the role and status of the State Board for Community Colleges, the college boards, the chancellor, the community college presidents, and the system office. These are discussed in the following sections.

Role and Status of the State Board for Community Colleges. The original legislation did not clearly define the role and status of the State Board for Community Colleges. Was it to be the board of an executive agency, like the State Board of Education, or was it to be the governing board of an educational institution, like a board of visitors of a college or university? This turned out to be an important distinction, since it defined the relationship of the State Board for Community Colleges to the Governor, the legislature, and executive agencies. This issue was finally resolved in 1977 by House Joint Resolution 192, which specified the following:

> [I]t is the sense of the General Assembly that the role of the State Board for Community Colleges is that of a governing board of a Statewide institution of higher education and not that of a board of a State agency, subject to the direction and control of the Governor, and that its functioning in the role of a governing board of an institution of higher learning is necessary for it to continue the purposes for which it and the Commonwealth's system of community colleges was created (94).

Role and Status of the College Boards. The legal status of the local community college boards has not changed since the original legislation, which defined their duties as follows:

> These boards shall assist in ascertaining educational needs, enlisting community involvement and support, and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the State Board (95a).

The State Board has periodically reviewed the role of the local college boards with a view to assuring that their role is as meaningful as possible. Current policies, which are presented in more detail in the Policy Manual (96), provide that local college boards are to

- have 9 to 15 members appointed by the political subdivisions (counties and cities) sponsoring the college;
- be made up of residents of the region served by the college, from various businesses, industries, and professions, and who are not members of the General Assembly nor elected members of the governing body of a political subdivision sponsoring the college.

Members are appointed to 4-year terms, and may not serve more than two successive 4-year terms. Local college boards are to:

- elect a chairman and such officers as it deems necessary, and adopt rules and regulations to conduct its business (the college president is secretary to the board);
- serve as a channel of communication between the State Board for Community College and the localities;
- recommend the name for the college and, in the case of multi-campus institutions, the name for each campus;
- recommend the site plan for the campus;
- participate in the selection, evaluation, and removal of the college president;
- participate in development and evaluation of the college's program of education;
- elicit community participation in program planning and development, establish advisory committees for specialized programs, and approve appointments of members of these committees;
- recommend the establishment or discontinuation of programs to the State Board;
- oversee the community service program of the college;
- review and make recommendations regarding state funds budget program proposals;
- review and approve local funds budgets, and budgets for expenditure of revenues from vending commissions and auxiliary enterprises;
- review and approve local regulations on student conduct;

- o review reports of audits and the college president's response to audit reports;
- o be informed of personnel matters by the college president; and
- o review and approve a written annual report regarding the operation of the college as prepared by the college president.

The State Board has also provided that any college board (or authorized representative thereof) may appear before the State Board simply by notifying the Secretary to the State Board (Chancellor) 15 days prior to a regularly scheduled meeting so that the matter may be placed on the agenda.

Role and Status of the Chancellor. Changing the status of the chief executive officer was one of the first changes made in the community college legislation. The 1970 General Assembly provided that the chief executive officer of the Virginia Community College System was to be appointed by the State Board for Community Colleges rather than by the Governor. At the same time, the title of this position was changed from Director to Chancellor. This change was the first major step in moving the Virginia Community College System from a state agency to an institution of higher education.

Role and Status of the Community College President. The president of each community college in the Virginia Community College System is the chief administrative officer of the college and secretary to the local college board. The president is appointed by the State Board for Community Colleges and reports directly to the Chancellor. The local college board participates in an advisory capacity in the selection, evaluation, and removal of the president.

Role of the System Office. The original legislation called for a Department of Community Colleges to support the State Board. As the system has moved away from the style and appearance of a state agency to those of an institution of higher education, the name and function of the central office has also changed. This central office is now known as the System Office.

The System Office was established in order to provide a proper organization to assist the State Board and the Chancellor in the exercise of their functions, duties, and powers conferred and imposed by law (95b), and to provide support for the colleges. When the system was young, and new colleges and new programs were being established in rapid order, the central offices grew rapidly, reaching a maximum strength of 190 positions in 1978. As the colleges matured the need for detailed oversight and central administrative support diminished, and the System Office got smaller. In 1985 the number of System Office employees was reduced to 82, which proved to be too few; the System Office is currently authorized 94 employees.

Implementation of the Original Master Plan

The growth of the Virginia Community College System (VCCS) was rapid but well planned. As Vaughan explained in his early history, one of the earliest actions of the State Board for Community Colleges was to commission the development of A Proposed Master Plan for a State-Wide System of Community College Education in Virginia by Eric Rhodes (59). This master plan envisioned 22 college regions encompassing the entire state. The final System evolved to include 23 regions (the Rhodes report recommended that the region now served by Danville and Patrick Henry Community Colleges be one region), but it is amazing how closely the Proposed Master Plan was followed in the development of the System. Colleges enrolled students as a part of the Virginia Community College System, as follows:

1966-67	Northern Virginia (opened as a Technical College in 1965)
(2)	Virginia Western (from UVa Branch & VPI Branch)
1967-68	Blue Ridge (under development as a Technical College)
(+6 = 8)	Dabney S. Lancaster (from VPI Branch)
	Central Virginia (from UVa Center)
	Danville (from Vocational/Technical School, the VPI Branch became part of the community college later.)
	Wytheville (from VPI Branch)
	John Tyler (under development as a Technical College)
1968-69	Tidewater (from private college)
(+3 = 11)	Thomas Nelson (new, from Vocational/Technical School)
	Southwest Virginia (new community college)
1969-70	Virginia Highlands (new, from Vocational/Technical School)
(+2 = 13)	New River (new, from Vocational/Technical School)
1970-71	Lord Fairfax (new community college)
(+3 = 16)	Germanna (new community college)
	Southside Virginia (new community college)
1971-72	Patrick Henry (from UVa Branch)
(+4 = 20)	Rappahannock (new community college)
	Paul D. Camp (new community college)
	Eastern Shore (from UVa Branch)
1972-73	Mountain Empire (new community college)
(+3 = 23)	Piedmont Virginia (new community college)
	J. Sargeant Reynolds (new community college)

The region served by each of the colleges is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Virginia Community College Regions

Accreditation

In the debate about the wisdom of establishing the community college system, the likelihood of the colleges being accredited was a matter of great controversy. Seldom have fears so loudly voiced proven to be so poorly founded. Each community college in the VCCS was accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) in the minimum time allowed by the procedures then in force. At no time have any of the Virginia community colleges had difficulty with respect to accreditation.

Mission

The VCCS mission has been reviewed periodically. Revised mission statements have generally not differed greatly from their predecessors. The most recent revision, adopted by the State Board on March 20, 1986, followed a major workshop on the mission plus extensive review at the colleges and by the State Board. The resulting statement, shown below, can be considered a reaffirmation of the mission as it has been understood throughout the history of the system.

Mission of the Virginia Community College System

The Virginia Community College System functions within the educational community to assure that all individuals in the diverse regions of the Commonwealth of Virginia are given a continuing opportunity for the development and extension of their skills and knowledge through quality programs and services that are financially and geographically accessible.

The Virginia Community College System, through comprehensive community colleges, provides leadership in determining and addressing both the needs of individuals and the economic needs of the colleges' service areas.

Occupational-technical education, transfer education, developmental studies, continuing education, and community services are the primary avenues through which the mission is fulfilled. To assure that all students have the opportunity for success, each college shall provide a comprehensive program of student development services.

Educational Program Goals

The following statement was adopted by the State Board at the time of a previous review of the mission in November, 1981, and remained unchanged with the adoption of the above mission statement.

The Virginia Community College System provides financially accessible, high quality, comprehensive educational programs and services. The purpose of these programs and services is to support the economic development of the Commonwealth and to meet the educational needs of citizens of all ages.

The Educational Program Goals of the VCCS are:

1. To offer Associate Degree Programs to prepare individuals for careers as technical and paraprofessional workers.
2. To offer Associate Degree Programs to prepare individuals for transfer, as upper-division students, to baccalaureate degree programs in four-year colleges.
3. To offer Diploma and Certificate Programs to prepare individuals for careers as technicians, skilled and semiskilled workers.

4. To offer Developmental Programs to prepare individuals for other instructional programs.
5. To offer Student Development Services which, through counseling and guidance, shall assist individuals with decisions regarding occupational, educational and personal goals.
6. To offer Industrial Training Programs where specific employment opportunities are available in new or expanding businesses, industries, and professions. Such programs shall be operated in cooperation with the individual community colleges.
7. To offer Continuing Education Programs to provide educational opportunities for individuals who wish to continue and expand their learning experiences. Such programs may include credit and non-credit courses, seminars and workshops.
8. To offer Community Services to provide cultural and educational opportunities which are in addition to other programs of the college.

Enrollment

The enrollment growth of the VCCS has far exceeded the expectations of even its most ardent proponents. With the exception of 1975-76, system enrollment grew steadily from 1966 to 1981-82. Then enrollment declined steadily until the current year, which showed a sharp increase. This is illustrated in Table I and Figure 2.

A number of factors contributed to the rapid growth of the System. First, as was demonstrated by Vaughan, the four-year colleges and universities were in no way prepared to handle the surge in enrollments required to accommodate the "baby boom" generation. Second, and probably even more important in the long run, jobs that were emerging in Virginia's businesses and industries required specialized knowledge and skills. In order to be prepared for these new jobs, many individuals who, in previous generations, would not have participated in postsecondary education enrolled in community college occupational programs.

Both of these factors caused initial community college enrollments to be primarily fulltime students. Fulltime students outnumbered parttime students until 1972-73. By 1977-78 there were twice as many parttime students as fulltime students, and since 1985-86 there have been more than three times as many parttime students as fulltime students. This is as it should be, for the initial surge of college-age youth has passed and societal conditions call

Table I
Enrollment in the VCCS

Year	FTES	Year	FTES
1966-67	2,092	1976-77	50,798
1967-68	7,174	1977-78	52,323
1968-69	12,120	1978-79	52,877
1969-70	15,717	1979-80	55,360
1970-71	20,383	1980-81	59,144
1971-72	25,066	1981-82	61,428
1972-73	29,133	1982-83	59,295
1973-74	34,784	1983-84	57,492
1974-75	42,586	1984-85	52,532
1975-76	52,653	1985-86	51,380
		1986-87	54,831 (Est.)

for a greater focus on adults: adults that need to gain new skills while they continue to work, adults that need to refine and update existing skills, and older adults that now have the time to explore learning for the sheer joy of learning.

Most parttime students do not pursue a degree or diploma. On the other hand, only 15 to 20 percent of the fulltime students are not enrolled in some program leading to a degree, diploma, or certificate. About 5 percent of the fulltime students are in developmental studies programs, 45 to 50 percent are in occupational programs, and 30 to 35 percent are in college transfer programs. These proportions have been relatively stable in recent years.

In 1982-83 enrollment began to decline. Part of the reason was the reduced number of 18 to 21 year old youth, but the level of tuition was also a contributing factor to this decline.

Tuition

Community colleges were established to provide geographic, academic, and economic access to students who might not otherwise have the opportunity for higher education. The tradition of low tuition in community colleges has assured economic access. This was the case in Virginia until about 1982 when increases in tuition began to outpace increases in the general economy, as measured by the consumer price index. Enrollment began to decline at the same time tuition began to rise rapidly. This is

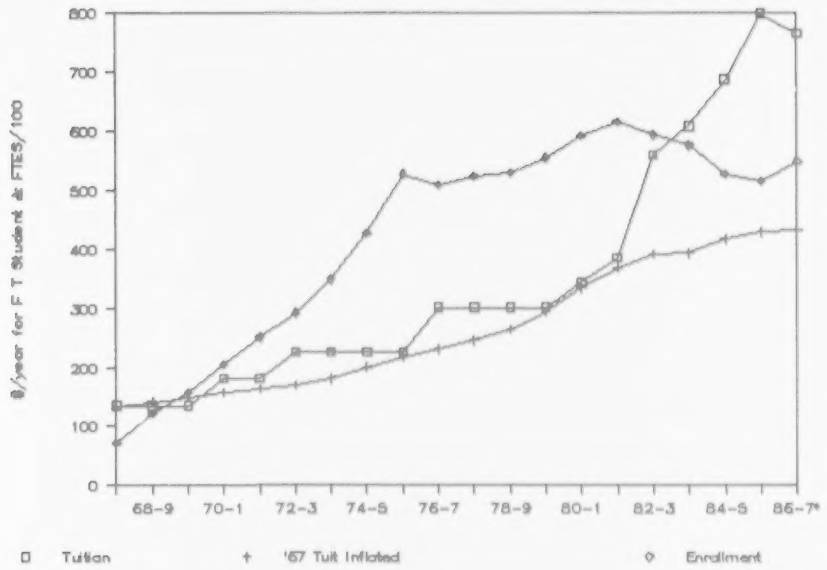

Figure 2. Changes in Tuition and Enrollment

illustrated in Figure 2. Note that enrollment decreased in 1976-77 and in each of the years from 1982-83 through 1985-86. In each of those years tuition increased substantially more than could be accounted for by inflation, as measured by the consumers price index. Note that these are also the only years since all 23 colleges were in place (1973) that tuition increased substantially more rapidly than the inflationary rate.

The State Board for Community Colleges identified tuition reduction as a key element in its proposals to the 1986 General Assembly. Newly inaugurated Governor Gerald Baliles agreed with the State Board's position and recommended that $3.9 million be appropriated for this purpose. The General Assembly made the appropriation, and as a result tuition for the 1986-87 academic year was reduced to $17.00 per quarter credit hour. Tuition had been $17.75 per quarter credit hour in 1985-86 and, without this appropriation, would have increased to $18.70 in 1986-87.

This tuition reduction is unique in that it is the first known instance of a uniform statewide reduction in community college tuition in the nation. It was determined, therefore, that there should be a study to determine the effect of the tuition reduction on enrollment. This study (97), conducted in the Fall Quarter, 1986, examined the effect of the tuition reduction in three ways: (1) a written survey of over 10,000 in-state students; (2) examination of actual Fall Quarter in-state enrollment from 1981 to 1985 to establish trends in enrollment with which actual 1986 enrollments were compared; and

(3) interviews of selected students, faculty, and employers. The results and conclusions coming from this study included the following:

Results. In the Fall Quarter, 1986, headcount enrollment in Virginia community colleges increased by 7.5% while community college enrollment increased only 2.5% across the nation and four-year college enrollment in Virginia increased approximately 1.3%.

Conclusions. After examining the results of this study, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. The tuition reduction made an important contribution to the enrollment increase.
2. The tuition reduction enabled new students to attend community colleges, some of whom would have been prevented from attending by a tuition cost of $18.70 per credit.
3. The tuition reduction was especially important to persons with limited financial resources.
4. The present tuition remains for many an obstacle, barring them from access to community college programs.

In-state tuition for 1987-88 has been further reduced to $16.95 per credit.

Budgeting and Resource Distribution

Budget requests and appropriations for operating funds have increasingly been handled on a System-wide basis. While the appropriation act takes the form of a college-by-college appropriation of funds and personnel positions, both funds and positions are redistributed by the State Board on the basis of a model that takes into account a number of factors. These factors primarily relate to enrollment and program mix; historical factors are diminishing in importance in resource distribution considerations. The Chancellor also occasionally makes some adjustments in the distribution to soften the effect of transient factors that might cause undue hardship for a particular college. Each college has an opportunity to request funds and personnel positions for special initiatives. When such appropriations are made, they are over and above funds and positions received through the redistribution process.

Capital funds are requested and appropriated on a project-by-project basis. Colleges initiate the process with justified requests. The State Board establishes a priority recommendation, as does the State Council of Higher Education for Virginia (SCHEV). The final decision on each project lies with the General Assembly.

Foundations and Development Activities.

That the emerging community colleges not damage existing public and private colleges was among the major concerns in the early days of the System. For that reason, the State Board early took the posture that community colleges would be funded by state funds and that private funds--seen as a critical source of funds for private colleges--would not be solicited for community colleges. The colleges were not authorized to establish educational foundations nor were they permitted to solicit private funds except for scholarships or grants-in-aid.

In January, 1969, the Community Colleges of Virginia Educational Foundation, Inc., was established to receive all gifts, grants, or donations from non-public funds either for the System as a whole or for the benefit of one of the individual colleges. The prohibition against private fund raising remained. It was not until July, 1978, that the local colleges were authorized to request approval for establishing a private foundation, and the prohibition against soliciting funds for anything other than scholarships or grants-in-aid remained until January, 1981.

It is now recognized that community colleges can only expect basic funding from tax funds, and that resources for innovation and other activities that set off an outstanding college will have to come from other sources. Development activities are now an integral part of the operation of most community colleges in the System.

Role of Internal Advisory Groups in System Governance

Community college presidents, deans and provosts, and faculty have direct or representative participation in the governance of the VCCS.

Advisory Council of Community College Presidents. All community college presidents are members of the Advisory Council of Community College Presidents. This council normally meets eight times each year and advises the Chancellor on a wide variety of policy and procedure issues. Most policy revisions either initiate with, or are referred to, this body for consideration before being presented to the State Board. The council has a formal committee structure with a portion of the membership of each committees rotating on an annual basis. The executive committee, appointed by the Chancellor, further advises and/or assists the Chancellor on legislative or other matters of system-wide importance between meetings of the Council.

Advisory Council of Provosts, Deans of Instruction, and Deans of Student Services and the Advisory Council of Deans of Financial and Administrative Services and Business Managers. Academic and student service issues are considered by the Advisory Council of Provosts, Deans of Instruction, and Deans of Student Services; fiscal matters are similarly considered by the Advisory Council of Deans of Financial and Administrative Services and

Business Managers. In each case, the deans' council works with the appropriate vice chancellor. Typically, each of the deans' councils meets about three times in the course of a year. Personnel development and enrichment programs make up an important component of each of these meetings.

Chancellor's Faculty Advisory Committee. The faculty of each college elects a representative to the Chancellor's Faculty Advisory Committee, which meets with the Chancellor about three times each year to discuss matters of concern to college faculties. This committee has been a particularly effective avenue of communication in recent years.

Emergence of the Virginia Community Colleges Association

The Virginia Community Colleges Association (VCCA) was founded in 1983. The VCCA is a separate association established "to promote the development and advancement of community college education in Virginia." Membership in the associations includes the colleges (institutional membership), faculty members, support staff members, student members, and associate membership for board members and others who wish to support the purposes and functions of the VCCA.

The VCCA has, from its inception, placed a high priority on providing personal development opportunities for its members. This organization, directly or through one of its commissions, has sponsored workshops and seminars throughout the state as well as providing extensive opportunities for development at the annual meetings.

While the VCCA is organizationally separate from the VCCS, and consequently does not have a direct role in VCCS governance, it nevertheless provides an important forum where issues of importance to the System are discussed.

Matters Receiving Special Consideration in 1987

A number of exciting issues are currently receiving special consideration in the VCCS. Each of the following is seen as an opportunity to enhance breadth of service or quality.

Marketing and Retention. For the past two years the VCCS has had a series of workshops and other activities focused on identifying community needs, increasing accessibility, removing unnecessary obstacles to student success, providing appropriate information to present and potential students, providing enhanced student counseling and other support services, revitalizing programs, offering new programs and services, and providing other activities designed to make the college more attractive and productive. Collectively, these efforts are referred to as marketing and retention programs. Specific examples of some of these activities include the following:

- o A number of the colleges have developed college-wide marketing, retention, or combined task forces. These task forces typically include faculty, staff, administrators, and students in activities to identify ways in which the college can address the objectives outlined above.
- o Several colleges have implemented continuous alert systems enabling the colleges to alert students of potential trouble, based on such factors as coursework or attendance, before it is too late to take effective corrective action. Intervention strategies such as this have proven to be effective in improving student success and retention.
- o In other instances, outreach teams of faculty, staff, and students work with counselors and students of local high schools to assure that potential high school students are informed of the opportunities available to them at the community college. In some cases the college also provides a service, such as financial aid analysis and counseling, for the local high schools.
- o Many colleges have rewritten all or portions of their catalogs and other publications after analyzing them for readability and clarity.
- o A few colleges have developed automated tracking and follow-up systems which cause appropriate letters to be prepared at significant points in the student's college career, from first contact to graduation, and beyond.
- o Almost all colleges have enhanced their contacts with the local business and industry community, defining areas in which the college can address appropriate unmet needs.

Staff Development. After the initial expansion of the System, the VCCS faculty and staff have been relatively stable. Many faculty and staff members have been with the System fifteen or more years, and many of these have ten or more years to go before retirement. It is, therefore important to the VCCS that this faculty be competent, up to date, enthusiastic, and innovative. Staff development has been a legislative priority of the System for the past two sessions of the General Assembly. Progress has been made; much more needs to be done. The following outlines some of the current initiatives with respect to faculty, staff, and administrators:

Leadership Seminar. The first VCCS Leadership Seminar was held on June 16-20, 1986, in Richmond. This seminar was conceived as a means of developing future administrative leaders for the System. Participants were selected by the college presidents; each college was allowed the same number of representatives as campuses. With the addition of one participant from the System Office there were 34 participants from teaching, academic administrative, student services, development, learning resources, and research positions. Presenters included outstanding speakers from outside the System: Dale Parnell, President of the American Association of

Community and Junior College; Donald Finley, Secretary of Education; Gordon Davies, Director of the SCHEV; The Honorable Franklin P. Hall, member, House of Delegates; and Wanda Bond, VCU Information Officer and former television newscaster. These speakers were joined by a distinguished group of speakers from within the VCCS. It was an outstanding experience for the participants and presenters, alike. The Leadership Seminar is expected to become an annual event.

Instructional Leadership Seminar. The first Instructional Leadership Seminar, similar to the Leadership Seminar except that the focus will be on teaching and educational leadership, is planned for the fall of 1987.

Chancellor's Fellowships. The University of Virginia and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University each participate in offering a Chancellor's Fellowship to a VCCS employee who has progressed to the point in his or her educational program that a year of residence at the university would allow them to substantially complete their doctoral program. The faculty member is placed on leave with partial pay by the community college and receives a joint fellowship from the university and the VCCS. Outstanding faculty members have availed themselves of the fellowships each year since the program began in 1985.

Virginia Community Colleges Association. As previously noted, the VCCA is an independent membership organization for Virginia community colleges, faculty, staff, students, and board members. Staff development at all levels is a priority for the VCCA, and it has had a number of highly successful programs in conjunction with the organization's annual meetings and in special programs held regionally at the colleges.

Training Programs at Deans' Meetings, Presidents' Meetings. Some special personal development or enrichment program is incorporated into virtually all of the meetings of the presidents, finance deans, and the academic and student services deans.

State Board Workshops. Just as the faculty and staff need renewal, the State Board has determined that it needs to have the opportunity to explore issues in more depth than would be allowed in its formal business meeting. The State Board, therefore, regularly schedules a half-day work session in conjunction with board meetings. Presentations by board members, staff, or college representatives, along with an opportunity to discuss the presentation in depth, are regular components of these work sessions.

Redefinition of Associate Degree Programs. A comprehensive review of all associate degree programs was initiated in 1983 with the assistance of a "Funds for Excellence" grant from SCHEV. As a result of these reviews ineffective or nonproductive programs have been phased out, general education requirements have been modified, and numerous programmatic enhancements have been identified.

Conversion to Semester Calendar All other public institutions of higher education in Virginia are either on, or are in the process of moving to, the semester calendar. In order to facilitate the transfer of credits from community colleges to four-year colleges, and to make starting and ending dates more compatible, the VCCS has also adopted the semester calendar, effective the Summer Session, 1988. Community college courses and programs have been rewritten with the results of the curriculum study, described above, in mind. This calendar conversion is a major project with a challenging timetable. Faculty and staff of all of the colleges, as well as System Office personnel, are working on the project, which is on schedule and doing well.

Student Assessment and Educational Outcomes. Student assessment is becoming a major issue in all of higher education in Virginia. SCHEV, responding to a legislative mandate, has recently adopted a set of guidelines by which each institution of higher education is to prepare a plan for assessing student competencies. This issue is given further emphasis by the recently adopted criteria of the SACS requiring that colleges focus of educational outcomes, rather than merely on input variables. This emerging issue will be one of the major emphases of the coming few years.

Articulation with Secondary School Vocational Programs Most of the Virginia Community Colleges now have formal articulation agreements with the secondary schools in their regions for a number of their occupational programs. Under these agreements students who have successfully mastered the knowledge and skill competencies of the secondary school program receive specific, predetermined advanced placement into the community college program without having to duplicate that instruction or take a placement examination. The State Board of Education and the State Board for Community Colleges recently passed a joint resolution calling for "the community colleges and the public schools to articulate all vocational-technical education programs to allow each student to continue his/her program without loss of time and resources."

2 + 2 Programs. An outstanding example of what can happen when cooperation takes place between community colleges and the public schools is the 2 + 2 Master Technician Program in Electronics and Electromechanical Technology jointly sponsored by Thomas Nelson Community College, the public school districts, and employers within the college's service region. In this program students begin a planned program of study at the 11th grade and pursue it through the community college. Industry's involvement in the development and implementation of the program virtually guarantees desirable employment to graduates. Students were admitted into the secondary school phase of this program last fall. The community college phase will begin next year, and get into full operation the following year, when the first class graduates from high school.

Two additional 2 + 2 program projects, based on the Thomas Nelson project, described above, have received Vocational Education grants. These projects are located at Central Virginia Community College in Lynchburg and Lord Fairfax Community College in Middletown. The Central Virginia project involves five local school districts, business, industry, and government and is in design technology. The Lord Fairfax project focuses on business information specialists, and involves three school divisions and an area vocational-technical center. Operational programs are expected in about two years as a result of each of these projects.

Remedial and Developmental Programs. Remedial and Developmental programs are the subject of a joint VCCS/SCHEV task force. This task force will, among other things, consider the proper role of community colleges and senior colleges in the provision of remedial and developmental education.

Adult Literacy Training. Until recently, adult basic skills training has not been considered to be a part of the VCCS mission. However, there is a strong conviction among many VCCS presidents and members of the System Office staff that the System can be an effective vehicle for providing training in adult basic skills if a clear mandate and appropriate resources are offered. This conviction is supported by the successful experience of community colleges in other states which have been charged with the responsibility of offering adult literacy programs. Community college personnel are accustomed to working with adults and with diverse student populations. Consequently, community college faculty and staff are already trained to work with adults with academic deficiencies and are both aware of and sensitive to their needs. Lastly, there are many who believe that the adult student is comfortable in the community college setting where he or she is more likely to encounter other adults and that the learning environment is an important factor in attracting undereducated adult students for remediation purposes. The General Assembly recently appropriated funds for a pilot adult literacy program in southwestern Virginia. This program is expected to demonstrate the effectiveness of community colleges in addressing the problems of adult literacy training.

Economic Development. Each college has someone, often the Director of Continuing Education, specifically designated to work with the business community, to be knowledgeable of the needs of business and industry, and to keep the college community well informed of the opportunities and requirements represented by those needs. The colleges respond with specifically tailored sequences of courses, individual courses, seminars, or workshops offered on the college campus or elsewhere in the community. The colleges also work closely with Chambers of Commerce and other organizations or agencies interested in the economic development of the region. The availability of specialized education and training programs at the community college can often be a deciding factor in plant location decisions.

Technology Transfer. An exciting new role for Virginia's community colleges is emerging through a new partnership between the Center for Innovative Technology (CIT) and the VCCS. If plans materialize, community colleges will become the liaison between business and industry, on one hand, and the whole of higher education on the other. Nine community colleges will conduct pilot programs during 1987-88. These are Central Virginia Community College in Lynchburg, New River Community College in Dublin, Northern Virginia Community in Annandale, Paul D. Camp Community College in Franklin, Southwest Virginia Community in Richlands, Tidewater Community College in Portsmouth, Thomas Nelson Community College in Hampton, Virginia Western Community College in Roanoke, and Wytheville Community College in Wytheville. If the concept proves to be successful it is likely that all community colleges will be involved within the next few years.

Summation

For years the VCCS was poised to receive national attention as a model state system. As we prepare for the 21st century, that distinction has been achieved. Virginia is now set to provide leadership to a maturing community college movement on the local, state, and national levels.

Governor Charles S. Robb joins local and state dignitaries at ribbon cutting ceremonies at a community college building dedication.

APPENDIX A

Chancellors and State Board Chairmen of the Virginia Community College System

Chancellors

Dana B. Hamel* **	1966 - 1979
Richard J. Ernst, Interim Chancellor	1979 - 1980
James H. Hinson, Jr.	1980 - 1983
Johnas F. Hockaday	1983 - present

State Board Chairmen

Eugene B. Sydnor*	1966 - 1971
Daniel C. Lewis	1971 - 1976
Gordon C. Willis	1976 - 1977
Carl E. Bain	1977 - 1979
Bernard J. Haggerty	1979 - 1980
Thomas T. Byrd	1980 - 1981
Norman C. Scott	1981 - 1982
Christine J. Miles	1982 - 1983
Francis T. West	1983 - 1984
George H. Gilliam	1984 - 1985
George J. Kostel	1985 - 1986
L. Jack Hite	1986 - present

* Dr. Hamel and Mr. Sydnor served in similar positions with the State Board for Technical Education from 1964 to 1966.

** Dr. Hamel was named Chancellor Emeritus in 1980.

APPENDIX B

Community College Presidents
of the Virginia Community College System

Blue Ridge Community College	
Douglas M. Montgomery	1964 - 1969
James A. Armstrong	1969 - 1985
James C. Sears	1985 - present
Central Virginia Community College	
Simeon A. Burnette	1966 - 1971
M. Douglas Reed	1971 - 1973
Donald E. Puyear	1974 - 1983
Johnnie E. Merritt	1984 - present
Dabney S. Lancaster Community College	
Donald E. Puyear	1967 - 1969
John F. Backels	1969 - present
Danville Community College	
Joseph Taylor	1968 - 1977
Walter S. DeLany	1978 - 1986
Arnold R. Oliver	1987 - present
Eastern Shore Community College	
John C. Fiege	1972 - present
Germanna Community College	
Arnold E. Wirtala	1969 - 1980
William P. Briley	1980 - 1984
Marshall W. Smith	1985 - 1986
Francis S. Turnage	1986 - present
J. Sargeant Reynolds Community College	
J. Wade Gilley	1972 - 1976
Simeon A. Burnette	1976 - present

John Tyler Community College	
Thomas M. Hatfield	1966 - 1969
Walter M. Denison	1970
James R. Walpole	1971 - 1974
John W. Lavery	1974 - 1979
Freddie W. Nicholas	1979 - present
Lord Fairfax Community College	
William H. McCoy	1969 - present
Mountain Empire Community College	
George B. Vaughan	1971 - 1977
Victor B. Ficker	1978 - present
New River Community College	
W. Robert Sullins	1970 - 1976
H. Randall Edwards	1976 - present
Northern Virginia Community College	
Robert L. McKee	1966 - 1968
Richard J. Ernst	1968 - present
Patrick Henry Community College	
Sherman S. Dutton	1971 - 1977
Max F. Wingett	1979 - present
Paul D. Camp Community College	
Perry R. Adams	1970 - 1979
Johnnie E. Merritt	1980 - 1983
Michael B. McCall	1984 - present
Piedmont Virginia Community College	
Harold J. McGee	1971 - 1975
James Walpole	1975 - 1977
George B. Vaughan	1977 - present
Rappahannock Community College	
John H. Upton	1970 - present
Southside Virginia Community College	
Kenneth E. Dawson	1969 - 1973
Max F. Wingett	1974 - 1978
James B. Brooks	1979 - 1982
John J. Cavan	1983 - present

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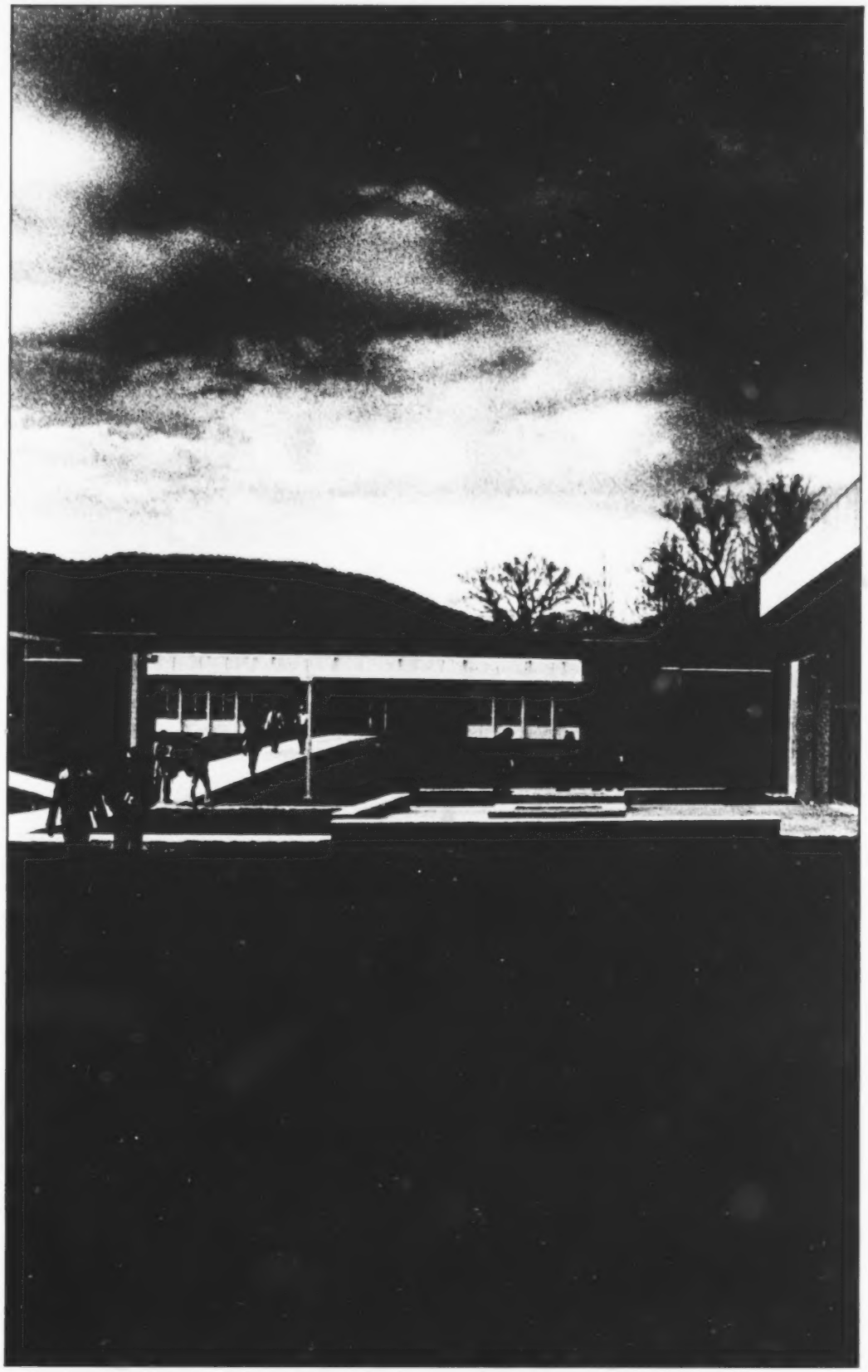
Southwest Virginia Community College	
Charles R. King	1967 - present
Thomas Nelson Community College	
Thomas V. Jenkins	1967 - 1971
Gerald O. Cannon	1971 - 1979
Thomas S. Kubala	1979 - 1986
Robert G. Templin, Jr.	1986 - present
Tidewater Community College	
Douglas M. Montgomery	1969 - 1972
George B. Pass	1973 - present
Virginia Highlands Community College	
Donald E. Puyear	1969 - 1973
E. Jean Walker	1974 - 1984
N. DeWitt Moore	1984 - present
Virginia Western Community College	
Travis M. McKenzie	1966 - 1968
Harold H. Hopper	1968 - 1980
Charles L. Downs	1981 - present
Wytheville Community College	
J. Wade Gilley	1967 - 1972
Laurence V. Lauth	1972 - 1980
William F. Snyder	1980 - present



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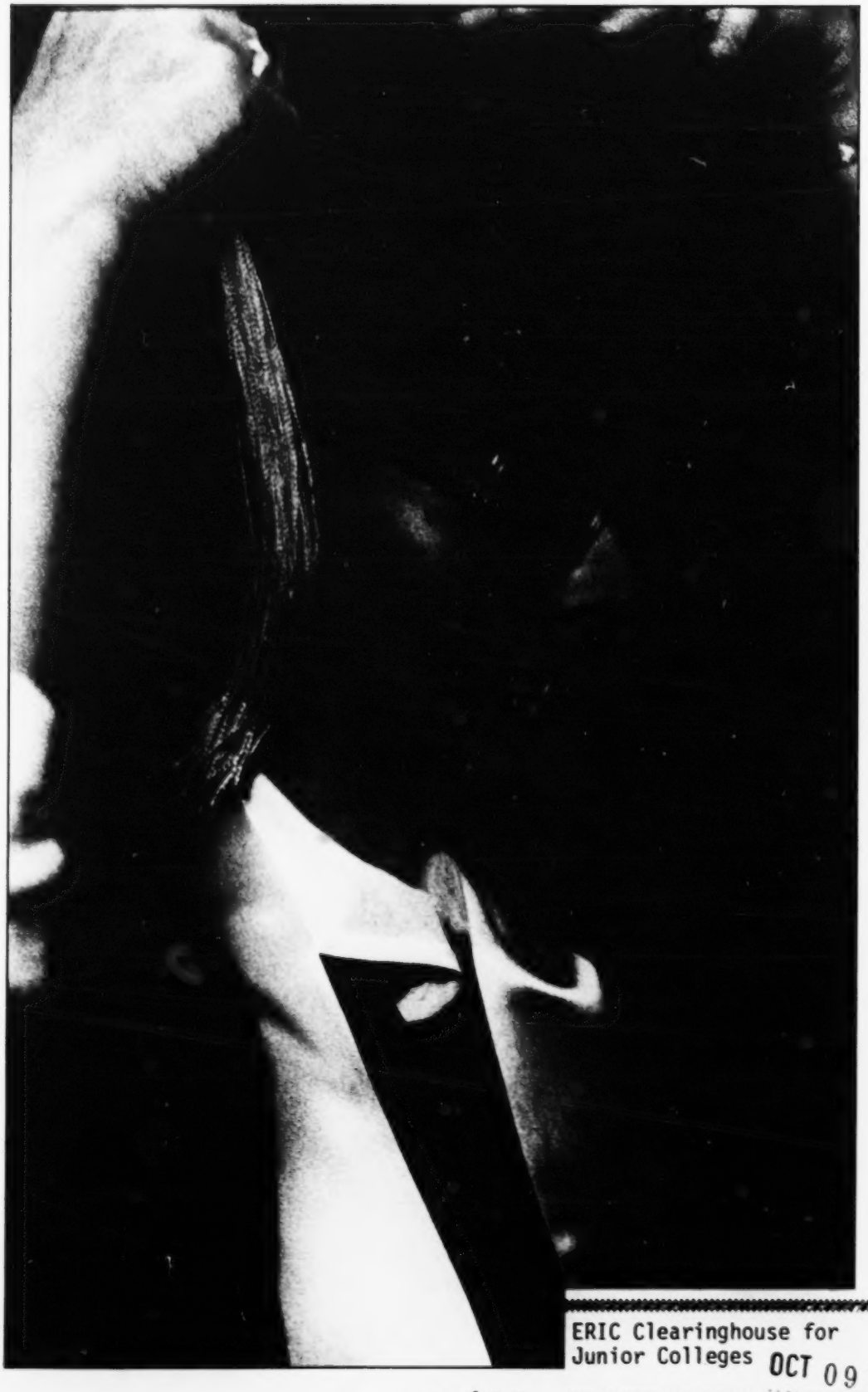

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